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vol II

THE SACRED BOOKS AND EARLY LITERATURE OF THE EAST

WITH HISTORICAL SURVEYS OF THE CHIEF
WRITINGS OF EACH NATION

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THE ROCK TEMPLE OF ABU-SIMBEL.

Showing the secret Holy Place in the rear.

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Vol. 2

THE SACRED BOOKS AND EARLY LITERATURE OF THE EAST

VOLUME II

EGYPT

In Translations by

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vol. 2

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NEW YORK LONDON

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“Let there be light.”—GENESIS I, 3.

“There never was a false god, nor was there ever really a false religion, unless you call a child a false man.”—MAX MÜLLER.

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“Be not arrogant because of that which thou knowest; deal with the ignorant as with the learned; for the barriers of art are not closed, no artist being in possession of the perfection to which he aspires.”

—FROM THE EGYPTIAN BOOK OF PTAH-HOTEP, EARTH'S EARLIEST-KNOWN TEACHER.

SACRED BOOKS AND EARLY LITERATURE

OF

EGYPT

INTRODUCTION

MAN'S FIRST HOPE OF IMMORTALITY AND THE DAWNING OF THE CRITIC SENSE

THE stupendous fact which makes Egyptian literature most worth our reading is that in Egypt mankind first soared to splendid heights of religious thought. There, so far as we now know, earnest and able men first faced with profound intellectual meditation the spiritual problems of this world. There the mass of men, for the first time, arranged their earthly lives upon a firm-set confidence that there was a life beyond.

The civilization of Egypt may possibly be as ancient as that of Babylonia. Recent scholars incline to regard that of Babylonia as the older of the two, and the other as perhaps an offshoot from it; but in that case the younger branch outgrew the parent in both wisdom and culture. Perhaps the swifter blossoming of Egyptian thought — if we may call a progress swift when it extended over unknown thousands of years — was due to the more secluded character of Egypt's situation. There and in Babylonia were two great rivers, the Nile and the Euphrates, whose vast and fertile valleys were fitted by Nature to be the seat of men's easiest development. But the Euphrates valley was exposed to warlike attack from every side. Again and again the Babylonian civilization was overthrown by hordes of invading barbarians. New kingdoms rose only on the ruins of the old; and war remained ever the chief business and chief thought of life. In Egypt, on the

contrary, the Nile valley was marvelously sheltered from attack by the spreading deserts on every side. It is true that during Egypt's early history we twice find her invaded and partly conquered by foreign hosts; but in each case she finally drove out the invaders. Moreover, these invasions occurred at intervals of over a thousand years. Thus the Egyptians were left, far more than any other nation in the world, to work out their own destinies, to build up their own civilization — in peace.

The history of Egypt before the days of Rome is divided into four clearly marked periods. The chronology of the first of these is still a puzzle to our scholars, though very recent criticism is establishing an outline of dates which may prove fairly accurate. According to this, our oldest definite Egyptian date sets Khufu, or Cheops, as building the greatest of the pyramids about 3000 B.C.¹ Khufu ruled in what is called the Fourth Dynasty of kings; so King Menes, who is regarded as the founder of the First Dynasty; that is, as the first ruler to gather all Egypt into a single Empire, must have lived about 3400 B.C. Back of Menes there is an older, uncountable age of lesser kingdoms and slowly developing civilization. Forward from his day extends the period of the first or what we now call the "Ancient" Egyptian Empire, which he founded. This was ruled by the six earliest dynasties of kings, and lasted for almost a thousand years; far longer, that is, than the later and better known world-empire of Rome was able to maintain itself.

The earliest literary remains of Egypt come down to us from the closing years of this "Ancient Empire." They are the hieroglyphics inscribed on the inner walls of pyramids, which were the giant tombs of kings, or sometimes on the lesser tombs of high officials. Some rough-carved, barely readable names survive on even earlier tombs, dating from Menes or from lesser kings before him. But Egyptian litera-

¹ The date of Khufu's reign, and all dates of the Ancient and Middle Empire are, by some scholars, set back about fifteen hundred years earlier. The evidence is inconclusive, but seems to favor the later date.

ture, in the sense of many connected phrases making a full document, bursts upon us, as it were, suddenly and startlingly in a completed form within the pyramid tombs of King Unis, of the Fifth Dynasty, and his successors of the Sixth. The secret rooms within these pyramids preserved the solemnly impressive ancient writings, sheltered them through long ages from all the ruin elsewhere wrought by Nature and by man. The secret of these pyramids was not penetrated, and their ancient picture-writing found, until 1880. So that the study of these texts, and all they have taught us of the growth of religious thought in Egypt, is very recent. They are called the "Pyramid Texts" and the most important of them are given in our present volume.

These Pyramid Texts are wholly religious. They continue echoing in a thousand different forms one central religious thought. The dead king has gone on to a life beyond, has become a god among the gods. As yet the inscriptions do not follow this thought of immortality beyond the king. There is no assertion that other men live beyond death; and in the slight remains of this period gathered from sources outside the pyramids there is no evidence of such a belief.

The other literary remnants from the Old Empire are chiefly biographical, the boastful account of some high official who, building his own tomb during his lifetime, records his proud successes on the pictured walls. Then there is one truly remarkable historical fragment, a carved stone now preserved in an Italian museum at Palermo, and hence called the "Palermo stone." This gives us a list of ancient kings and some note of the events occurring during their reigns. It is, however, so worn and broken that the record gleaned from it is almost hopelessly fragmentary.

In our reprinted documents from this ancient and almost forgotten kingdom we have included one other; not this time a fragment painted or carved on stone, but a real book or manuscript, written on papyrus, the plant which the Egyptians learned to make into the most ancient sort of paper. This genuine, early book is not really of the Old Empire; it belongs to the next period. But the writer then recorded

an ancient tale, or rather a collection called "The Tales of the Magicians." The manuscript dates apparently from about the year 2000 B.C.; that is, from the Twelfth Dynasty, but the stories it tells are of King Khufu and his predecessors, and so reach back yet another thousand years for the pictures that they offer. So crude and simple are the tales, so manifestly dealing with a still childish and uncritical audience, that we feel justified in referring their origin to the Ancient Empire of which they tell, and so calling them the "oldest stories in the world."

This first "Old Empire" of Egypt seems to have been overthrown by a foreign invasion, and there were centuries of disorder, but the Egyptian princes or great lords were never wholly overthrown and gradually they reestablished their supremacy in a sort of "feudal period," or rule of the barons. Over these one king was again set up; and a second period of peaceful splendor ensued about the year 200 under the great Twelfth Dynasty of emperors, or Pharaohs.

From this "Middle Empire" or feudal period the surviving texts are fairly numerous. There is another papyrus manuscript, The Precepts of Ptah-hotep, which disputes with the Tales of the Magicians the rank of "oldest book" in the world. There are other similar studies of wisdom or books of good counsel, perhaps the most interesting of them being that of King Intef to his son. The surviving manuscript of this is of much later date, but King Intef was of the Eleventh Dynasty, and the original set of "counsels" must have been almost as old.

Far more interesting than these books of counsel are the religious texts surviving from the Middle Empire. Of these, commonly called the "Coffin Texts," the most striking are given in our volume. We have not from this age any one great religious collection like the Pyramid Texts, but the Coffin Texts cover a much wider range. They are the hieroglyphs, usually in verse form, carved upon the coffins of the dead. They are usually brief, but they speak not merely for kings but for all classes of society. They teach us that the idea of life beyond life had now become universal. But

mingled with it is a growing cynicism. Some of these texts assert a confident and even arrogant assurance of the future; others breathe a gentle sadness, a feeling that this life by itself is of little worth, while the promise of the one beyond is very doubtful.

Among the other pieces surviving there is one of peculiar interest in that it offers us man's earliest study of rhetoric, of the art of words. It is a deliberate invention, not a legend or a myth, but a story invented by the rhetorician for the express purpose of displaying the beauty and the power of speech when handled as an art. We offer to the reader this curious beginning of conscious art, and also the earliest "travelers' tales." One of these, the narrative of Sinuhit, has a special value. It presents to us our earliest picture of Palestine, the Holy Land, depicting it at a period long preceding Moses, and perhaps as early as the days of Abraham.

This second or "Middle Empire" of Egypt was overthrown, as the first had been, by foreign invasion. This time the invaders were the Hyksos, or Shepherd Kings, who came from Asia, and under one of whom Joseph the Israelite rose to power. When the Hyksos were finally expelled about 1600 B.C., the Egyptian rulers who conquered them built up the third or Great Empire, which flourished for another four hundred years or more and then gradually declined in power until it was conquered by the Persians in 525 B.C.

The period of the "Great Empire" constituted the best known and probably the most brilliant age of ancient Egypt. It was the time of Thutmose III., the famous general of the Eighteenth Dynasty, and of Ramses II., the great warrior of the Nineteenth Dynasty. In these days Egypt was no longer isolated. She came in close touch with Babylonian civilization and extended her conquests over Palestine and Syria up to the very borders of the Babylonian realm.

The literature of this brilliant period is extensive and important. Most impressive of its writings is the stupendous Book of the Dead. This, the best known of all Egyptian books, is the great religious ritual. As much of it as possible, sometimes a hundred and forty chapters, was enshrined in

every tomb, carved or painted, or written on papyrus. It taught the dead man, or reminded him, just how he was to meet each incident of the life beyond, how he would be judged for his deeds, how each god would demand knowledge of some facts of his life, and how he was to answer each. This enormous mass of assumed knowledge as to the minute details of the hereafter implies that the entire future was now assumed as a matter of course. We can not call it pretense; it was inherited tradition. Perhaps in the first invention the details had been frankly fanciful; but the centuries had gradually forgotten this, and man had come to accept all these instructions for the hereafter with blind faith.

Beyond the Book of the Dead our volume gives you a few other religious writings of the Great Empire, including earth's earliest ghost-story, and then turns to the historic inscriptions and semi-historic legends of this great age. These include what has been called the first Egyptian epic, the poem of the poet Penta-our, celebrating a great victory of Ramses II. over the Hittites. King Ramses himself so prized this poem with its impassioned description of his prowess that he had it inscribed upon his buildings again and again. So that next to the Book of the Dead it is the most widespread and well-known of Egyptian texts.

There is one interesting account of travel, dating from this age; and then we turn to its fiction, "The Doomed Prince," and the best-known story of all Egyptian fiction, "The Two Brothers."

Chiefly, however, the surviving fiction of Egypt belongs to a yet later period, the age of submission, the centuries when Assyrians, Persians, Greeks, and Romans each in turn conquered Egypt, while the intervening years of brief independence were still chiefly swayed by foreign monarchs.

During these long centuries of ever-increasing weakness down to the Christian era, Egyptian literature turned mainly to story-telling. The old religious confidence was lost beyond recall. There are, however, two interesting religious works belonging to these days: the Book of the Breaths of Life, which speaks an almost modern philosophy, and the

Litany of Re, a priestly chant which shows that the faith of the priests themselves had developed along very different lines from the outgrown religion still solemnly proffered to the mass of the people.

Beyond these come the stories of the age of weakness. One of these offers us the oldest-known case of literary forgery. This tale was deliberately misrepresented by the members of a local priesthood as coming from a more ancient source, and was thus used to secure wealth and honor for the local shrine. Rather than close our volume with this instructive but unhonored tale, we then give some other of these lighter tales, quaint and often attractive, and even with a breath of the heroic toward the last.

To sum up what has been said, we give you here all the most notable Egyptian works. These are of value chiefly through their revelation of man's growth in religion and in power of analytic thought. The religious growth may here be traced through the Pyramid Texts of the Old Empire to the Coffin Texts, hymns, and books of counsel of the Middle Empire, and so to the Book of the Dead and lesser religious works of the Great Empire. Still later than these come the moral works, such as the Breaths of Life, of the period of weakness. Similarly, the historic side of Egypt may be followed from the old Palermo stone, through biographies and legends, up to the boastful inscription of Thutmose III., and the epic song of Ramses II.'s victory. The oldest story-telling in the world also may be followed from the crude wonders of the Tales of the Magicians, through the Middle Empire rhetorical tale, to the more skilful romances of the latest age. Or we can follow, if we will, the enlarging "travelers' tales." Each of these lines will be opening to us the fascinating study of this earliest recorded development of human thought. We can trace the Egyptians' advance, beginning with a narrow view of life possible only to savages, childlike, animal-like in its unthinking blindness; and we can see this view expand until Egyptian thinkers reach a breadth of reasoning power such as the average man of to-day will be quick to admit is apparently equal to his own.

THE ANCIENT EMPIRE

(3500 B.C.—2475 B.C.)

THE EARLIEST EGYPTIAN REMAINS

THE PALERMO STONE

“When first the Egyptians appear upon the stage of history they are already possessed of a marvelously advanced civilization which presupposes thousands of years of development.”

— S. BIRCH.

“There were presented to him the things of his father.”

— THE LIFE OF METHEN (Egypt's oldest biography).

THE EARLIEST EGYPTIAN REMAINS

(INTRODUCTION)

IF we sweep aside the dust of the many accumulated ages, the earliest Egyptian writings that have come down to us are the bare names of kings carved on ancient tombs. Later on, we find these names inscribed on other monuments and accompanied by lists of kingly titles. Thus, for example, in the ancient copper mines of Sinai, the desert land wherein Moses and his followers in later ages wandered for forty years, a land outside of Egypt altogether, there is an inscription carved on the rock, apparently as a record of empire, by King Snefru, the ruler who preceded Khufu, the builder of the Great Pyramid (3000 B.C.). This carving, like earlier similar ones on the rocky wall, shows an Egyptian Pharaoh with upraised war-club about to slay a crouching Arab of the desert. That is, Egypt holds warlike mastery over Sinai. King Snefru's picture, however, is the first to have a long added inscription. It reads:

“King of Upper and Lower Egypt; Favorite of the Two Goddesses; Lord of Truth; Golden Sun-god, Snefru.

“Snefru, great god, who is given power, stability, life, health, joy of heart, forever.

“Subduer of the Barbarians.”

If such an inscription is too elementary to be called literature, we find a distinctly literary form soon afterward in the tomb biographies. High officials of the kingdom followed the lead of their rulers by building splendid tombs; and they painted on the inner chambers of these some record of the owner's proud career. The earliest such boastful biography yet discovered is that of Methen, the “Master of the Hunt” under King Snefru. Methen does not seem to have been a specially important man. He was methodical, busy, success-

ful in a small way; but it is the very maddest vagary of chance that out of all the millions of early Egyptians he should be the one to have his little boast of success survive until now, and now through Egyptologists be preserved perchance until the end of time. So Methen's boastful record of his life, faded now and difficult to read, obscure of wording and interpretation, is given here as Egypt's earliest surviving life-scene.

Then comes the Palermo stone. This begins for us Egyptian history, as Methen begins biography. The Palermo stone is a broken fragment from a large tablet, which must have been set up somewhere as a sort of permanent historical record during the Fifth Egyptian Dynasty (2750 B.C.). The original stone contained a list of all the preceding kings, arranged in chronological order and with brief notes of the chief events of each reign, sometimes of each year of each reign. The remaining fragment is unreadable in part and gives us only vague visions of large events, whose details the imagination must fill out as best it may.

Of Egypt before the close of the Fifth Dynasty we possess only such records as these, shadowy hints of life, pictures fascinating to pore over and meditate upon with their wistful evidence that human hearts yearned then for much the same things that they yearn for now: mothers schemed for their sons; men prided themselves on building finer houses than their neighbors; foreign regions were harried and their people "hacked" and plundered without remorse; and then the conquerors returned in pleasant pride to dream amid their "vines" and "fig-trees."

EARLIEST EGYPTIAN REMAINS

THE LIFE OF METHEN ¹

There were presented to him the things of his father, the judge and scribe Anubisemonekh; there was no grain or anything of the house, but there were people and small cattle.²

He was made chief scribe of the provision magazine, and overseer of the things of the provision magazine. He was made . . . becoming local governor of Xoïs (Ox-nome), and inferior field-judge of Xoïs. He was appointed judge, he was made overseer of all flax of the King, he was made ruler of Southern Perked, and deputy, he was made local governor of the people of Dep, palace-ruler of Miper and Persepa, and local governor of the Saitic nome, ruler of the Stronghold of Sent, deputy of nomes, ruler of Pershesthet, ruler of the towns of the palace, of the Southern Lake. Sheret-Methen was founded, and the domain which his father Anubisemonekh presented to him.

Administrator, nomarch, and overseer of commissions in the Anubis nome, overseer of the Mendesian nome, he received 4 stat of land, with people and everything. . . . There were founded for him the 12 towns of Shet-Methen in the Saitic nome, in the Xoite nome, and the Sekhemite nome. . . . There were conveyed to him as a reward 200 stat of lands by numerous royal grants; a mortuary offering of 100 loaves every day from the mortuary temple of the mother of the King's children, Nemathap; a house 200 cubits long and 200 cubits wide, built and equipped; fine trees were set out, a very large lake was made therein, figs and vines were set out. It was recorded therein according to the King's writings;

¹ This and a few of the following records are reprinted from Breasted's "Ancient Records," by permission of the University of Chicago Press.

² Methen here records his father's death and his own inheritance, not of provisions but of slaves, etc.

their names were according to the decree of the King's writings. Very plentiful trees and vines were set out, a great quantity of wine was made therein. A vineyard was made for him: 2,000 stat of land within the wall; trees were set out, in Imeres, Sheret-Methen, Yat-Sebek, Shek-Methen.

Ruler of Southern Perked;³

Ruler of Perwersah;

Ruler and local governor of the stronghold, Hesen; in the Harpoon nome;

Palace-ruler and local governor in Sekhemu of Xoïs (Ox-nome).

Palace-ruler and local governor in Dep;

Palace-ruler and local governor in Miper, of the Saite nome;

Palace-ruler and local governor in Two Hounds, of the Mendesian nome;

Palace-ruler in Heswer; ruler of fields in the west of the Saitic nome;

Palace-ruler of the Cow stronghold; local governor in the desert, and master of the hunt;

Ruler of fields, deputy and local governor in the Sekhemite nome;

Nomarch, administrator, and deputy in the eastern Fayum;

Field-judge, palace-ruler of the west of the Saitic nome, leader of . . .

There were conveyed to him, as a reward, 200 stat of land by the numerous royal . . .

There were conveyed to him 50 stat of land by his mother Nebsent; she made a will thereof to her children; it was placed in their possession by the King's writings in every place.

Ruler of . . . of the Sekhemite nome. There were given to him 12 stat of land, with his children; there were people and small cattle.

³ This and the following lines are separated from the preceding, and give a list of Methen's offices.

THE PALERMO STONE

[The first lines of this stone give only glimpses of kings' names, first an unknown king, Seka, and so on. Then it has vague names of events, "Worship of the God Horus," "Union of the Two Lands," "Circuit of the Wall," "Birth of the Two Children of the King of Lower Egypt," "Building of the House Called 'Mighty-of-the-Gods,'" "Birth of the Goddess Yamet," "Smiting of the Cave-People," "Opening of the Lake of the House Called 'Thrones-of-the-Gods,'" "Shooting of the Hippopotamus," "Voyage to Sahseteni." The record first becomes full and fairly readable in the reign of the conquering King Snefru of the Third Dynasty (3000 B.C.). There it runs as follows:]

KING SNEFRU

Year —

Birth of the two children of the King of Lower Egypt.
Sixth occurrence of the numbering.

Year —

Building of 100-cubit ⁴ dewatowe-ships of meru wood, and of 60 sixteen ⁵-barges of the King.

Hacking up the land of the Negro.

Bringing of 7,000 living prisoners, and 200,000 large and small cattle.

Building of the wall of the Southland and Northland called "Houses-of-Snefru."

Bringing of 40 ships filled with cedar wood.⁶

2 cubits, 2 fingers.⁷

⁴ This refers to the length, which was thus some 167 feet.

⁵ This numeral refers to a dimension or to the number of oars in each barge, or something similar.

⁶ This is an expedition by sea to Lebanon.

⁷ These constantly recurring figures for each year probably are some measure of the height of the Nile.

Year —

Making of 35 houses.⁸

. . . of 122 cattle.

Building of a 100-cubit dewatowe-ship of cedar wood, and
2 100-cubit ships of meru wood.

Seventh occurrence of the numbering.

5 cubits, 1 palm, 1 finger.

Year —

Erection of:

"Exalted-is-the-White-Crown-of-Snefru-upon-the-Southern-Gate."⁹

"Exalted-is-the-Red-Crown-of-Snefru-upon-the-Northern-Gate."⁹

Making the doors of the King's palace of cedar wood.

Eighth occurrence of the numbering.

2 cubits, 2 palms, $2\frac{3}{4}$ fingers.

[Much is lost here, and the record only becomes full again under the reign of King Userkaf of the Fifth Dynasty.]

KING USERKAF

Year 5

The King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Userkaf; he made it as his monument for:

The spirits of Heliopolis: 20 offerings of bread and beer at every . . . and every feast; 36 stat of land in the domain of Userkaf.

The gods of the sun-temple called Sepre:

24 stat of land in the domain of Userkaf;

2 oxen, 2 geese every day.

Re: 44 stat of land in the nomes of the Northland;¹⁰

⁸ Some particular kind of building is meant.

⁹ These are the names of two gates or parts of the palace of Snefru: one for the South and one for the North. We have thus the double name of a double palace, which, like the organs of the government, was double, to correspond with the old kingdoms of South and North. These two gates are still preserved in the palace of the Empire, as seen in the Amarna tombs. The palace front was always referred to as the "double façade" or "double gate."

¹⁰ Re, Hathor, Sepa, etc., are names of gods.

Hathor: 44 stat of land in the nomes of the Northland.

The gods of the House of Horus: 54 stat of land; erection of the shrine of his temple in Buto of the nome of Xoïs;

Sepa: 2 stat of land; building of his temple.

Nekhbet in the sanctuary of the South: 10 offerings of bread and beer every day.

Buto in Pernu: 10 offerings of bread and beer every day.

The gods of the sanctuary of the South: 48 offerings of bread and beer every day.

Year of the third occurrence of the numbering of large cattle.

4 cubits, $2\frac{1}{2}$ fingers.

Year 6

The King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Userkaf; he made it as his monument for:

. . . : 1,700 stat . . . in the North; . . .

KING SAHURE

Year 5

The King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Sahure; he made it as his monument for:

. . . in Heliopolis; . . . 200 . . . , . . . divine bark . . .

Nekhbet, mistress of Perwer: 800 daily offerings of bread and beer;

Buto, mistress of Perneser: 4,800 daily offerings of bread and beer;

Re in the Senut-house: 138 daily offerings of bread and beer;

Re in the Sanctuary of the South: 40 daily offerings of bread and beer;

Re in Tep-het: 74 daily offerings of bread and beer;

Hathor in the sun-temple, Sekhet-Re: 4 daily offerings of bread and beer;

Re of the sun-temple, Sekhet-Re: 2,000 stat of land in the nome of Xoïs;

Mes: 2 stat of land in the nome of Busiris;

Sem: 2 stat of land in the nome of Busiris;

Khent-yawetef: 2 stat of land in the Memphite nome;
 Hathor in Ro-she of Sahure: 2 stat of land in the East;
 Hathor in the temple of the pyramid, "The-Soul-of-Sahure-Shines": 1 stat of land in the Libyan nome;
 The White Bull: 13 . . . stat of land in the eastern Khent nome.

Third occurrence of the finding of . . .

Year of the second numbering.

2 cubits, $2\frac{1}{4}$ fingers.

Year 6

The King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Sahure; he made it as his monument for:

The Divine Ennead, . . .

Year 13

The King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Sahure; he made it as his monument for:

.

Re . . .: . . . stat of land in the North and South;

Hathor: . . . stat of land in the North and South;

. . . : . . . stat of land in the North and South;

. . . : . . . all things.

There were brought from:

The Malachite-country, . . . 6,000 . . .

From Punt, 80,000 measures of myrrh, 6,000 . . . of electrum, 2,600 staves, . . .

Year after the seventh numbering.

[The stone ends with some equally fragmentary records from the reign of one more king, Neferirkere.]

THE ANCIENT EMPIRE
(3500 B.C.—2475 B.C.)

THE PYRAMID TEXTS

“These texts form the oldest body of literature surviving from the ancient world, and disclose to us the earliest chapter in the intellectual history of man as preserved to modern times.”

— J. H. BREASTED.

*“King Unis has dawned again in the sky,
Shining as lord of the horizon.”*

— PYRAMID TEXTS.

THE PYRAMID TEXTS

(INTRODUCTION)

FROM the feebleness and obscurity of such scattered records as were shown in the preceding section, Egyptian literature blossoms suddenly into the large quantity of clear, vigorous, and interesting religious verses known as the "Pyramid Texts." These are found within the series of pyramids still standing at Sakhara on the Nile, pyramids erected as tombs by King Unis, the last ruler of the Fifth Dynasty (about 2625 B.C.), and by his immediate successors of the Sixth Dynasty, Kings Teti, Pepi, and others.

The spacious walls of the burial-chambers within these pyramids are covered with endless variations and repetitions of these chants which iterate in a thousand varied forms the idea that the dead king is not dead; he has only, like his prototype, the sun, "set in the west" that he may "rise in the east." In describing these remarkable texts Professor Breasted says: "Long successions of such paragraphs crowd one behind another like the waves of the sea, as if to overwhelm and, in their impetuous rush, to bear away as on a flood the insistent fact of death and sweep it to utter annihilation. It is difficult to convey to the modern reader the impression made by these thousands of lines as they roll on in victorious disregard of the invincibility of death. In so far as they owe their impressiveness to their mere bulk, built up like a bulwark against death, we can gain the impression only by reading the whole collection through."

The cry is always that the Pharaoh has gone among the gods to take his proper place as the greatest of all of them. This idea was not new-born in the tomb of King Unis, where we first read it. The phrases of his painted text are obviously already old. They had been chanted over the mummies of

earlier kings for uncountable centuries. The first of these chants which we print here has been accepted as belonging to a period anterior to the union of Egypt under Menes, the founder of the First Dynasty. The spirit of these verses proves them the product of a barbaric, probably prehistoric, age. They conceive King Unis as going forth to fight the older gods, snatch their dwellings from them, slay them, yes and even swallow them in baldest cannibal fashion!

Doubtless such taunts were intended to terrify the gods of death. These texts were charms whose insistent repetition would act as a magic spell to hold death afar. Their haughty self-assertion and self-confidence are, however, typical of the religious attitude of Egypt even in far later days. Never has any other religious faith so vociferously claimed the hereafter as an assured and conquered possession, a land which man had wrested from the gods by strength of will and noisy vehemence, and which he was determined to retain in defiance of their opposition. The later Pyramid Texts do indeed address the gods as friends, but always with the underlying haughtiness of King Unis's attack.

THE PYRAMID TEXTS

PHARAOH'S VICTORY OVER THE GODS ¹

Clouds darken the sky,²
The stars rain down,
The Bows (a constellation) stagger,
The bones of the hell-hounds tremble,
The porters of the gods are silent,
When they see King Unis dawning as a soul,
As a god living on his fathers,
Feeding on his mothers.
King Unis is lord of wisdom,
Whose mother knows not his name.
The honor of King Unis is in the sky,
His might is in the horizon,
Like Atum his father who begat him.
When he begat him, he was stronger than he.

.....³
King Unis is one who eats men and lives on gods,
Lord of messengers, who dispatches his messages;
It is "Grasper-of-Forelocks" living in Kehew
Who binds them for King Unis.
It is the serpent "Splendid-Head"
Who watches them for him and repels them for him.
It is "He-who-is-upon-the-Willows"
Who lassoes them for him.
It is "Punisher-of-all-Evil-doers"
Who stabs them for King Unis.

¹ The chants in this section are taken from Breasted's "Development of Religion and Thought in Ancient Egypt," by permission of C. Scribner's Sons.

² The skies fear the coming attack of the deceased Pharaoh, Unis.

³ The passage omitted is an obscure description of the equipment of the dead king, which, however, contains an important statement that the king "lives on the being of every god, eating their organs who come with their belly filled with charms."

He takes out for him their entrails,
 He is a messenger whom he (King Unis) sends to punish.
 Shesmu cuts them up for King Unis
 And cooks for him a portion of them
 In his evening kettles (his evening meal).
 King Unis is he who eats their charms,
 And devours their glorious ones (souls).
 Their great ones are for his morning portion,
 Their middle-sized ones are for his evening portion,
 Their little ones are for his night portion.
 Their old men and their old women are for his incense-
 burning.
 It is the "Great-Ones-North-of-the-Sky"
 Who set for him the fire to the kettles containing them,
 With the legs of their oldest ones as fuel.
 The "Dwellers-in-the-Sky" revolve for King Unis (in his
 service).
 The kettles are replenished for him with the legs of their
 women.
 He has encircled all the Two Skies (corresponding to the Two
 Lands),
 He has revolved about the two regions.
 King Unis is the "Great Mighty-One"
 Who overpowers the "Mighty Ones"

.....

Whom he finds in his way, him he devours. . . .⁴
 The protection of King Unis is before all the noble dead
 Who dwell in the horizon.
 King Unis is a god, older than the eldest.
 Thousands revert to him,
 Hundreds are offered to him.
 Appointment as "Great One" is given to him
 By Orion, father of gods.
 King Unis has dawned again in the sky,
 Shining as lord of the horizon.

.....

⁴ This line is found three times.

He has taken the hearts of the gods ;
 He has eaten the Red,
 He has swallowed the Green.
 King Unis is nourished on satisfied organs,
 He is satisfied, living on their hearts and their charms.

.....
 Their charms are in his belly.
 The dignities of King Unis are not taken away from him ;
 He hath swallowed the knowledge of every god.
 The lifetime of King Unis is eternity,
 His limit is everlastingness in this his dignity of :
 " If-he-wishes-he-does,
 If-he-wishes-not-he-does-not." ⁵
 Who dwells in the limits of the horizon forever and ever.
 Lo, their (the gods') soul is in the belly of King Unis,
 Their Glorious Ones are with King Unis.
 The plenty of his portion is more than that of the gods.

.....
 Lo, their soul is with King Unis.

⁵ This is a name or rank expressed in a couplet.

THE INCENSE CHANT⁶

The fire is laid, the fire shines ;
The incense is laid on the fire, the incense shines.
Thy fragrance comes to King Unis, O Incense ;
The fragrance of King Unis comes to thee, O Incense.
Your fragrance comes to King Unis, O ye gods ;
The fragrance of King Unis comes to you, O ye gods.
King Unis is with you, ye gods ;
Ye are with King Unis, ye gods.
King Unis lives with you, ye gods ;
Ye live with King Unis, ye gods.
King Unis loves you, ye gods ;
Love ye him, ye gods.⁷

⁶ One of the most remarkable passages in the Pyramid Texts employs the ceremony and the suggestiveness of incense-burning as a sympathetic agency by which, as the odorous vapor arises from earth to the gods, it bears aloft the fragrance of the king to mingle with that of the gods, and thus to draw them together in fellowship and association.

⁷ The variant in the last line has: "Ye love this Pepi, ye gods." The poem was of course accompanied by the burning of incense; also by an offering of bread which immediately followed. A formula of the ascension, as frequently with the burning of incense, then follows.

A CALL TO RE AND THOTH ⁸

Take ye this King Unis with you that he may eat of that
which ye eat,
And that he may drink of that which ye drink,
That he may live on that whereon ye live,
That he may sit in that wherein ye sit,
That he may be mighty by that whereby ye are mighty,
That he may sail in that wherein ye sail.
The booth of King Unis is plaited (erected) in the reeds,
The pool of King Unis is in the Field of Offerings.
His offering is among you, ye gods.
The water of King Unis is wine like that of Re.
King Unis circles the sky like Re,
He traverses the sky like Thoth.

⁸ The Sun- and Moon-gods.

THE KING'S IMMORTALITY

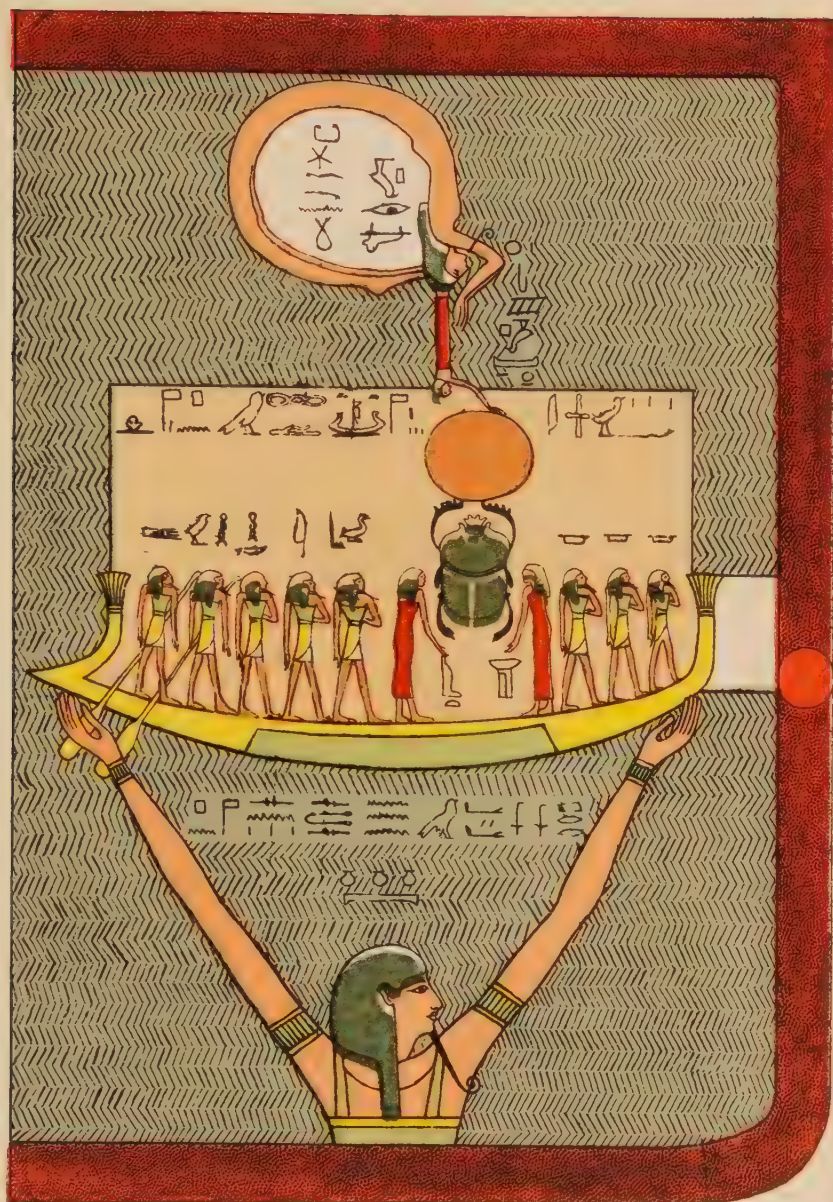
Thy seats among the gods abide ;
Re leans upon thee in the horizon, O King Teti.
Thy odor is as their odor,
Thy sweat is as the sweat of the Eighteen Gods.
Thou dawnest, O King Teti, in the royal hood ;
Thy hand seizes the scepter, thy fist grasps the mace.
Stand, O King Teti, in front of the two palaces of the South
and the North.
Judge the gods, for thou art of the elders
Who surround Re, who are before the Morning Star.
Thou art born at thy New Moons like the moon.
He leans upon thee in the horizon, O King Teti.
The Imperishable Stars follow thee,
The companions of Re serve thee, O King Teti.
Thou purifiest thyself, thou ascendest to Re ;
The sky is not empty of thee, O King Teti, forever.

DEATH AND LIFE

Men fall,
Their name is not.
Seize thou King Teti by his arm,
Take thou King Teti to the sky,
That he die not on earth,
Among men.

THE ASCENT TO THE SKY

O King Neferkere! the mouth of the earth opens to thee,
Geb (the Earth-god) speaks to thee:
"Thou art great like a king, mighty like Re."
Thou purifiest thyself in the Jackal-lake,
Thou cleanseest thyself in the lake of Dewat.
"Welcome to thee," say the Eighteen Gods.
The eastern door of the sky is opened to thee by Yemen-kau;
Nut has given to thee her arms, O King Neferkere,
She of the long hair and pendent breasts.
She guides thee to the sky,
She does not put King Neferkere down again to the earth.
She bears thee, O King Neferkere, like Orion;
She makes thy abiding-place before the Double Palace.
King Neferkere descends into the bark like Re,
On the shores of the Lily-lake.
King Neferkere is rowed by the Unwearied Stars,
He commands the Imperishable Stars.



THE CREATION — NU, THE GOD OF CHAOS, UPRaises THE BOAT
 OF THE GODS INTO THE SKY, AND THE GOD KHEPERA AS A
 BEETLE UPHOLDS THE SUN, WHILE THE GOD OSIRIS
 ENCIRCLES THE UNDERWORLD AND LIFTS INTO
 BEING ON HIS HEAD NUT THE
 MOTHER-GODDESS

THE ANCIENT EMPIRE

(3500 B.C.—2475 B.C.)

BIOGRAPHY, TRAVEL, AND ROMANCE UNDER THE ANCIENT EMPIRE

“The age of the pyramid-builders is the most brilliant before the Great Empire.”

— STANLEY LANE-POOLE.

“The thoughts of this people centered strangely on death and future life.”

— PROF. P. E. NEWBERRY.

BIOGRAPHY, TRAVEL, AND ROMANCE UNDER THE ANCIENT EMPIRE

(INTRODUCTION)

EXCEPT for the Pyramid Texts, the literature of the Ancient Empire still remains scanty and woefully incomplete. The historical records continue almost blank; although biographies of nobles become fairly numerous. The best known and most interesting of these, the record of Uni, a successful general under King Pepi, and ruler of all Upper Egypt under King Mernere, is given here. Uni was born under King Teti, founder of the Sixth Dynasty, and worked his way upward from a comparatively small office to a career of varied and active command. He was, or so he assures us, renowned for his probity as a judge and his devotion to his various sovereigns.

There is one of these biographies in which the official was a traveler, an explorer of unknown regions. As this bold Egyptian lord, Harkhuf by name, is thus the earliest-known adventurer in the vast and heroic work of earth's exploration, his account of his journeys is well worth our reading. Harkhuf's tomb-inscription also includes the full text of a commendatory letter, which he received from his King. The letter itself is almost pathetically childish; but the tremendous honor of receiving it so outweighed all else in the subject's mind that the accounts of his own efforts and dangers are crowded together in corners of his tomb or omitted entirely, so that the main portion of the chamber-wall may blazon forth in full the personal letter of his King.

To these odd old records of the Ancient Empire one text has been added which, strictly speaking, does not belong among them. This is the celebrated and ancient manuscript known as the "Tales of the Magicians." The existing

papyrus of this tale is of much later date, belonging probably to the Middle Empire; but the stories themselves not only deal with the Ancient Empire, but speak in such ancient fashion that our manuscript is apparently a copy of another much more antiquated. The tales bear every sign of being almost as old as the empire of which they speak. So while we are not to accept the document as strictly contemporaneous with King Khufu, who is its central figure, nevertheless it preserves some common traditions about that ancient pyramid-King. Its childish tales may thus fairly be considered "the oldest stories in the world."

BIOGRAPHY, TRAVEL, AND ROMANCE

THE INSCRIPTION OF UNI

Count, governor of the South, chamber-attendant, attached to Nekhen, lord of Nekheb, sole companion, revered before Osiris, First of the Westerners, Uni. He says:

I was a child who fastened on the girdle under the Majesty of Teti; my office was that of supervisor of . . . and I filled the office of inferior custodian of the domain of Pharaoh.

. . . I was eldest of the . . . chamber under the Majesty of Pepi. His Majesty appointed me to the rank of companion and inferior prophet of his pyramid-city. While my office was . . . his Majesty made me judge attached to Nekhen. He loved me¹ more than any servant of his. I "heard,"² being alone with only the chief judge and vizier,³ in every private matter . . . in the name of the King, of the royal harem and of the six courts of justice; because the King loved me more than any official of his, more than any noble of his, more than any servant of his.

Then I besought the Majesty of the King⁴ that there be brought for me a limestone sarcophagus from Troja.⁵ The King had the treasurer of the god ferry over, together with a troop of sailors under his hand, in order to bring for me this sarcophagus from Troja; and he arrived with it, in a large ship belonging to the court, together with its lid, the false door; the setting, two . . . and one offering-tablet. Never was the like done for any servant, for I was excellent to the heart of his Majesty, for I was pleasant to the heart of his Majesty, for his Majesty loved me.

¹ Literally, "his heart was filled with me."

² Meaning: heard cases in court as judge.

³ One person; this vizier, whose name is not mentioned, was perhaps Zau.

⁴ Literally, "the Majesty of the lord."

⁵ Quarries opposite Memphis, five or six miles south of Cairo.

While I was judge, attached to Nekhen, his Majesty appointed me as sole companion and superior custodian of the domain of Pharaoh, and . . . of the four superior custodians of the domain of Pharaoh, who were there. I did so that his Majesty praised me, when preparing court,⁶ when preparing the King's journey, or when making stations. I did throughout so that his Majesty praised me for it above everything.

When legal procedure was instituted in private⁷ in the harem against the Queen,⁸ Imtes, his Majesty caused me to enter, in order to hear the case alone. No chief judge and vizier at all, no prince at all was there, but only I alone, because I was excellent, because I was pleasant to the heart of his Majesty; because his Majesty loved me. I alone was the one who put it in writing, together with a single judge attached to Nekhen; while my office was only that of superior custodian of the domain of Pharaoh. Never before had one like me heard the secret of the royal harem, except that the King caused me to hear it, because I was more excellent to the heart of his Majesty than any official of his, than any noble of his, than any servant of his.

His Majesty made war on the Asiatic Sand-dwellers, and his Majesty made an army of many ten thousands: in the entire South, southward to Elephantine, and northward to Aphroditopolis; in the Northland on both sides entire in the stronghold,⁹ and in the midst of the strongholds, among the Irthet negroes, the Mazoi negroes, the Yam negroes, among the Wawat negroes, among the Kau negroes, and in the land of Temeh.¹⁰

⁶ There is a contrast here between his duties at the fixed court and making preparations for the King's journeys. The third reference is perhaps to the duty of assigning court stations to noblemen according to rank.

⁷ Literally, "When the matter was contested."

⁸ Literally, "great king's-wife."

⁹ Some particular stronghold is apparently meant; Erman suggests "the old fortress in the eastern part of the Delta," but this is a conjecture.

¹⁰ This is a list of Nubian lands. The discovery of the Harkhuf inscription has thrown light on the location of Yam, showing that the journey thither and return occupied seven months.

His Majesty sent me at the head of this army while the counts, while the wearers of the royal seal, while the sole companions of the palace, while the nomarchs and commanders of strongholds belonging to the South and the Northland; the companions, the caravan-conductors, the superior prophets belonging to the South and the Northland, the overseers of the crown-possessions, were each at the head of a troop of the South or the Northland, of the strongholds and cities which they commanded, and of the negroes of these countries. I was the one who made for them the plan while my office was only that of superior custodian of the domain of Pharaoh of . . . Not one thereof . . . with his neighbor; not one thereof plundered dough or sandals from the wayfarer; not one thereof took bread from any city; not one thereof took any goat from any people. I dispatched them from the Northern Isle, the Gate of Ihotep, the bend¹¹ of Horus, Nibmat. While I was of this rank . . . everything, I inspected the number of these troops, although never had any servant inspected.

This army returned in safety, after it had hacked up the land of the Sand-dwellers; this army returned in safety, after it had destroyed the land of the Sand-dwellers; this army returned in safety, after it had overturned its strongholds; this army returned in safety, after it had cut down its figs and its vines; this army returned in safety, after it had thrown fire upon all its foes; this army returned in safety, after it had slain troops therein, in many ten thousands; this army returned in safety, after it had carried away therefrom a great multitude as living captives. His Majesty praised me on account of it above everything.

His Majesty sent me to lead this army five times, in order to traverse the land of the Sand-dwellers at each of their rebellions, with these troops. I did so that his Majesty praised me on account of it.

When it was said there were revolvers because of a matter among these barbarians in the land of Gazelle-nose, I crossed over in troop-ships with these troops, and I voyaged to the

¹¹ A river bend, or a district.

back of the height of the ridge ¹² on the north of the Sand-dwellers. When this army had been brought in the highway, I came and smote them all and every revolter among them was slain.¹³

When I was master of the footstool of the palace and sandal-bearer, the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Mernere, my lord, who lives forever, made me count, and governor of the South, southward to Elephantine, and northward to Aphroditopolis;¹⁴ for I was excellent to the heart of his Majesty, for I was pleasant to the heart of his Majesty, for his Majesty loved me.

When I was master of the footstool and sandal-bearer, his Majesty praised me for the watchfulness and vigilance, which I showed in the place of audience, above his every official, above his every noble, above his every servant. Never before was this office conferred upon any servant. I acted as governor of the South to his satisfaction. Not one therein . . . with his neighbor. I accomplished all tasks; I numbered everything that is counted to the credit of the court in this South twice; all the *corvée* that is counted to the credit of the court in this South twice.¹⁵ I performed the . . . in this South; never before was the like done in this South. I did throughout so that his Majesty praised me for it.

His Majesty sent me to Ibhet,¹⁶ to bring the sarcophagus named: "Chest-of-the-Living," together with its lid and the

¹² The Palestinian highlands. Uni must have landed a little farther north and reached the highlands of southern Palestine.

¹³ The end of Uni's career under Pepi I. is marked by a line of separation on the stone.

¹⁴ The northern and southern limits of Upper Egypt.

¹⁵ The meaning is that Uni twice made a census of all the royal properties.

¹⁶ This unknown quarry must be in the vicinity of Assuan, where black granite is found; the material of the sarcophagus (not given here) as discovered in Mernere's pyramid at Sakhara in January, 1881, by Mariette (just a few days before his death), is a fine black granite. The lid mentioned in our text is pushed back, but still lying on the sarcophagus, within which Mariette's native assistant, Mustapha, found the body of the King Mernere, now in the Cairo Museum. The "pyramidion," or final capstone of the pyramid, was of finer material than the other masonry; it is no longer preserved, but tomb-paintings often show this final block colored black by the artist.

costly, splendid pyramidion for the pyramid called: "Mernere-Shines-and-is-Beautiful," of the Queen.¹⁷

His Majesty sent me to Elephantine¹⁸ to bring a false door of granite, together with its offering-tablet, doors and settings of granite; to bring doorways and offering-tablets of granite, belonging to the upper chamber of the pyramid called: "Mernere-Shines-and-is-Beautiful," of the Queen. Then I sailed down-stream to the pyramid called: "Mernere-Shines-and-is-Beautiful," with 6 cargo-boats, 3 tow-boats and 3 . . . boats to only one war-ship. Never had Ibhet and Elephantine been visited in the time of any kings with only one war-ship. Whatsoever his Majesty commanded me I carried out completely according to all that his Majesty commanded me.

His Majesty sent me to Hatnub to bring a huge offering-table of hard stone of Hatnub. I brought down this offering-table for him in only 17 days, it having been quarried in Hatnub, and I had it proceed down-stream in this cargo-boat. I hewed for him a cargo-boat of acacia wood of 60 cubits in its length, and 30 cubits in its breadth, built in only 17 days, in the third month of the third season (eleventh month). Although there was no water on the . . . I landed in safety at the pyramid called: "Mernere-Shines-and-is-Beautiful"; and the whole was carried out by my hand, according to the mandate which the Majesty of my lord had commanded me.

His Majesty sent me to dig 5 canals¹⁹ in the South and to make 3 cargo-boats and 4 tow-boats of acacia wood of Wawat. Then the negro chiefs of Irthet, Wawat, Yam, and Mazoi drew timber therefor, and I did the whole in only one year. They were launched and laden with very large granite blocks for the pyramid called: "Mernere-Shines-and-is-Beautiful." I then . . . for the palace in all these 5 canals,

¹⁷ The exact place and meaning of the last three words are uncertain; possibly they refer to a burial-place of the Queen in connection with the pyramid.

¹⁸ This voyage was made in connection with the preceding, as Ibhet could not have been far from Elephantine.

¹⁹ These must be for passing the cataracts; as was the canal of Sesostris III.

because I honored, because I . . ., because I praised the fame of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Mernere, who lives forever, more than all gods, and because I carried out everything according to the mandate which his *ka* commanded me.

I was one beloved of his father, and praised of his mother; first-born . . . pleasant to his brothers, the count, the real governor, of the South, revered by Osiris, Uni.

INSCRIPTIONS OF HARKHUF, THE
EXPLORER

Count,¹ governor of the South,² wearer of the royal seal, sole companion, ritual priest, caravan-conductor, chamber-attendant, attached to Nekhen, lord of Nekheb, Harkhuf.

I came to-day from my city, I descended from my nome, I built a house, I set up the doors. I dug a lake, and I planted trees. The King praised me. My father made a will for me, for I was excellent . . . one beloved of his father, praised of his mother, whom all his brothers loved. I gave bread to the hungry, clothing to the naked, I ferried him who had no boat.

O ye living, who are upon earth, who shall pass by this tomb whether going down-stream or going up-stream, who shall say: "A thousand loaves, a thousand jars of beer for the owner of this tomb"; I will . . . for their sakes in the Netherworld. I am an excellent, equipped spirit, a ritual priest, whose mouth knows.³

As for any man who shall enter into this tomb as his mortuary possession, I will seize him like a wild fowl; he shall be judged for it by the great god.

I was one saying good things and repeating what was loved. Never did I say aught evil, to a powerful one against any people, for I desired that it might be well with me in the great god's presence. Never did I judge two brothers in such a way that a son was deprived of his paternal possession.

¹ This list of titles and the following statement of Harkhuf's virtues are inscribed over the door of his tomb. See also the list of titles introducing the journeys.

² Harkhuf may have succeeded Uni in this office, who held it under Mernere also, dying under this King; but it was now becoming merely a rank.

³ This is a promise to intercede with the powers of the hereafter on behalf of the living who repeat a prayer for the sake of the deceased.

Count,⁴ sole companion, ritual priest, chamber-attendant, judge attached to Nekhen, lord of Nekheb, wearer of the royal seal, caravan-conductor, privy councilor of all affairs of the South, favorite of his lord, Harkhuf, . . . who brings the products of all the countries to his lord, who brings the tribute of the royal ornaments, governor of all countries of the South, who sets the terror of Horus⁵ among the countries, who does that which his lord praises, . . . the revered by Ptah-Sokar, Harkhuf.

He says:

The Majesty of Mernere, my lord, sent me, together with my father, the sole companion, and ritual priest, Iri, to Yam, in order to explore a road to this country. I did it in only seven months,⁶ and I brought all kinds of gifts from it. I was very greatly praised for it.

His Majesty sent me a second time alone; I went forth upon the Elephantine road, and I descended from Irthet, Mekher, Tereres, Irtheth, being an affair of eight months. When I descended I brought gifts from this country in very great quantity. Never before was the like brought to this land. I descended from the dwelling of the chief of Sethu and Irthet, after I had explored these countries. Never had any companion or caravan-conductor who went forth to Yam before this, done it.⁷

His Majesty now sent me a third time to Yam; I went forth from . . . upon the Uhet road, and I found the chief of Yam going to the land of Temeh to smite Temeh as far as the western corner of heaven. I went forth after him to the land of Temeh, and I pacified him, until he praised all the gods for the King's sake.

⁸ . . . Yam, who followed . . . in order to inform the

⁴ What follows is a separate inscription, at the right of the door in fourteen columns on the façade, before the figure of Harkhuf with staff.

⁵ The King and his emblem, the god Horus.

⁶ This is the length of the entire journey to and from his destination, including his stay there.

⁷ The conclusion of this journey describes the unusual road taken to reach home, after he has already narrated the journey out, and the gifts brought back.

⁸ What follows is inscribed in horizontal lines from right to left, on

Majesty of Mernere, my lord, . . . after the chief of Yam. Now when I had pacified that chief of Yam . . . below ⁹ Irthet and above Sethu I found the chief of Irthet, Sethu, and Wawat. . . .

I descended with 300 asses laden with incense, ebony, heknu, grain, panthers, . . . ivory, throw-sticks, and every good product. Now when the chief of Irthet, Sethu, and Wawat saw how strong and numerous were the troop of Yam, which descended with me to the court, and the soldiers who had been sent with me, then this chief brought and gave to me bulls and small cattle,¹⁰ and conducted me to the roads of the highlands of Irthet, because I was more excellent, vigilant, and . . . than any count, companion, or caravan-conductor who had been sent to Yam before. Now, when the servant ¹¹ there was descending to the court, One ¹² sent the . . ., sole companion, the master of the bath, Khuni,¹³ up-stream with a vessel laden with date-wine, cakes, bread, and beer. The count, wearer of the royal seal, sole companion, ritual priest, treasurer of the god, privy councilor of decrees, the revered, Harkhuf.

(Letter of King Pepi II. to Harkhuf.)

Royal seal,¹⁴ year 2, third month of the first season (third month), day 15.

Royal decree to the sole companion, the ritual priest and caravan-conductor, Harkhuf.

the left side of the door (on the façade). Below it Harkhuf's son, Zemi, offers him incense. Part of the opening is effaced. Harkhuf evidently sent a messenger to inform the Pharaoh that he had gone "after the chief of Yam."

⁹ He is here giving his return route.

¹⁰ Or gazelles; not asses.

¹¹ Modest for "I."

¹² The King.

¹³ The first sign is possibly a hole; one is tempted to find our old friend Uni here.

¹⁴ Harkhuf made a fourth voyage to Yam, and having sent word to the King of his safe return with many products of the south and especially a dancing dwarf, the King writes him a letter of thanks, promising great rewards, etc., if the dwarf is safely brought to court. This letter Harkhuf had engraved on the façade of his tomb, which was al-

I have noted the matter of this thy letter, which thou hast sent to the King, to the palace, in order that One ¹⁵ might know that thou hast descended in safety from Yam with the army which was with thee. Thou hast said in this thy letter that thou hast brought all great and beautiful gifts, which Hathor, mistress of Imu, hath given to the *ka* of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Neferkere, who liveth forever and ever. Thou hast said in this thy letter that thou hast brought a dancing dwarf of the god from the land of spirits, like the dwarf which the treasurer of the god Burded brought from Punt in the time of Isesi. Thou hast said to my Majesty: "Never before has one like him been brought by any other who has visited Yam."

Each year finds thee doing that which thy Lord desires and praises; thou spendest day and night with the caravan in doing that which thy lord desires, praises, and commands. His Majesty will make thy many excellent honors to be an ornament for the son of thy son forever, so that all people will say when they hear what my Majesty doeth for thee: "Is there anything like this which was done for the sole companion, Harkhuf, when he descended from Yam, because of the vigilance which he showed, to do that which his lord desired, praised, and commanded!"

Come northward to the court immediately; thou shalt bring this dwarf with thee, which thou bringest living, prosperous, and healthy from the land of spirits, for the dances of the god, to rejoice and gladden the heart of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Neferkere, who lives forever. When he goes down with thee into the vessel, appoint excellent people, who shall be beside him on each side of the vessel; take care lest he fall into the water. When he sleeps at night appoint excellent people, who shall sleep beside him in his tent; inspect ten times a night. My Majesty desires to see this dwarf more

ready complete, so that a further space for the letter had to be smoothed on the extreme right of the façade, where none of the other Assuan tombs has any inscriptions at all. Thus was preserved to us the only complete royal letter of the Old Kingdom.

¹⁵ Circumlocution of "the King."

than the gifts of Sinai and of Punt. If thou arrivest at court this dwarf being with thee alive, prosperous, and healthy, my Majesty will do for thee a greater thing than that which was done for the treasurer of the god Burded in the time of Isesi, according to the heart's desire of my Majesty to see this dwarf.

Commands have been sent to the chief of the New Towns, the companion, and superior prophet, to command that sustenance be taken from him in every store-city and every temple, without stinting therein.

TALES OF THE MAGICIANS ¹

One day, when King Khufu reigned over all the land, he said to his chancellor, who stood before him, "Go call me my sons and my councilors, that I may ask of them a thing." And his sons and his councilors came and stood before him, and he said to them, "Know ye a man who can tell me tales of the deeds of the magicians?" ²

Then the royal son Khafra stood forth and said, "I will tell thy Majesty a tale of the days of thy forefather Nebka, the blessed; of what came to pass when he went into the temple of Ptah of Ankhtau.

"His Majesty was walking unto the temple of Ptah, and went unto the house of the chief reciter Uba-ner, with his train. Now when the wife of Uba-ner saw a page, among those who stood behind the King, her heart longed after him; and she sent her servant unto him, with a present of a box full of garments.

"And he came then with the servant. Now there was a lodge in the garden of Uba-ner; and one day the page said to the wife of Uba-ner, 'In the garden of Uba-ner there is now a lodge; behold, let us therein take our pleasure.' So the wife of Uba-ner sent to the steward who had charge over the garden, saying, 'Let the lodge which is in the garden be made ready.' And she remained there, and rested and drank with the page until the sun went down.

"And when the even was now come the page went forth to bathe. And the steward said, 'I must go and tell Uba-ner of this matter.' Now when this day was past, and another

¹ Most of this translation is taken by permission from Prof. Flinders-Petrie's "Egyptian Tales." The crumbling old papyrus is now in the Berlin Museum and is called from its finder the Westcar papyrus. The most complete study of it is that made by Erman in his "*Marchen des Papyrus Westcar*."

² This paragraph has been inserted by the translator to make the connection clear. The original opening has been lost and the papyrus begins with a few words which form the close of a similar tale of magic.



PTAH, THE GOD OF THE METAL WORKERS, THE MASTER-DESIGNER OF
ALL THINGS MADE ON EARTH, FASHIONING THE EGG
OF THE WORLD ON A POTTER'S WHEEL

day came, then went the steward to Uba-aner, and told him of all these things.

"Then said Uba-aner, 'Bring me my casket of ebony and electrum.' And they brought it; and he fashioned a crocodile of wax, seven fingers long: and he enchanted it, and said, 'When the page comes and bathes in my lake, seize on him.' And he gave it to the steward, and said to him, 'When the page shall go down into the lake to bathe, as he is daily wont to do, then throw in this crocodile behind him.' And the steward went forth bearing the crocodile.

"And the wife of Uba-aner sent to the steward who had charge over the garden, saying, 'Let the lodge which is in the garden be made ready, for I come to tarry there.'

"And the lodge was prepared with all good things; and she came and made merry therein with the page. And when the even was now come, the page went forth to bathe as he was wont to do. And the steward cast in the wax crocodile after him into the water; and, behold! it became a great crocodile seven cubits in length, and it seized on the page.

"And Uba-aner abode yet seven days with the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Nebka, the blessed, while the page was stifled in the crocodile. And after the seven days were passed, the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Nebka, the blessed, went forth, and Uba-aner went before him.

"And Uba-aner said unto his Majesty, 'Will your Majesty come and see this wonder that has come to pass in your days unto a page?' And the King went with Uba-aner. And Uba-aner called unto the crocodile and said, 'Bring forth the page.' And the crocodile came forth from the lake with the page. Uba-aner said unto the King, 'Behold, whatever I command this crocodile he will do it.' And his Majesty said, 'I pray you send back this crocodile.' And Uba-aner stooped and took up the crocodile, and it became in his hand a crocodile of wax. And then Uba-aner told the King that which had passed in his house with the page and his wife. And his Majesty said unto the crocodile, 'Take to thee thy prey.' And the crocodile plunged into the lake with his prey, and no man knew whither he went.

"And his Majesty the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Nebka, the blessed, commanded, and they brought forth the wife of Uba-aner to the north side of the harem, and burnt her with fire, and cast her ashes in the river.

"This is a wonder that came to pass in the days of thy forefather the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Nebka, of the acts of the chief reciter Uba-aner."

His Majesty the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Khufu, then said, "Let there be presented to the King Nebka, the blessed, a thousand loaves, a hundred draughts of beer, an ox, two jars of incense; and let there be presented a loaf, a jar of beer, a jar of incense, and a piece of meat to the chief reciter Uba-aner; for I have seen the token of his learning." And they did all things as his Majesty commanded.

BAUFRA'S TALE

The royal son Baufra then stood forth and spake. He said, "I will tell thy Majesty of a wonder which came to pass in the days of thy father Seneferu, the blessed, of the deeds of the chief reciter Zazamankh. One day King Seneferu (l. h. s.³), being weary, went throughout his palace seeking for a pleasure to lighten his heart, but he found none. And he said, 'Haste, and bring before me the chief reciter and scribe of the rolls Zazamankh'; and they straightway brought him. And the King said, 'I have sought in my palace for some delight, but I have found none.' Then said Zazamankh to him, 'Let thy Majesty go upon the lake of the palace, and let there be made ready a boat, with all the fair maidens of the harem of thy palace; and the heart of thy Majesty shall be refreshed with the sight, in seeing their rowing up and down the water, and seeing the goodly pools of the birds upon the lake, and beholding its sweet fields and grassy shores; thus will thy heart be lightened. And I also will go with thee. Bring me twenty oars of ebony, inlaid with gold, with blades of light wood, inlaid with electrum; and bring me twenty maidens,

³ This is a formula often introduced after any mention of royalty. It is a sort of prayer meaning "life, health, strength."

fair in their limbs, their bosoms, and their hair, all virgins; and bring me twenty nets, and give these nets unto the maidens for their garments.' And they did according to all the commands of his Majesty.

"And they rowed down the stream and up the stream, and the heart of his Majesty was glad with the sight of their rowing. But one of them at the steering struck her hair, and her jewel of new malachite fell into the water. And she ceased her song, and rowed not; and her companions ceased, and rowed not. And his Majesty said, 'Row you not farther?' And they replied, 'Our little steerer here stays and rows not.' His Majesty then said to her, 'Wherefore rowest thou not?' She replied, 'It is for my jewel of new malachite which is fallen in the water.' And he said to her, 'Row on, for behold I will replace it.' And she answered, 'But I want my own piece back in its setting.' And his Majesty said, 'Haste, bring me the chief reciter Zazamankh,' and they brought him. And his Majesty said, 'Zazamankh, my brother, I have done as thou sayedst, and the heart of his Majesty is refreshed with the sight of their rowing. But now a jewel of new malachite of one of the little ones is fallen in the water, and she ceases and rows not, and she has spoilt the rowing of her side. And I said to her, "Wherefore rowest thou not?" and she answered to me, "It is for my jewel of new malachite which is fallen in the water." I replied to her, "Row on, for behold I will replace it"; and she answered to me, "But I want my own piece again back in its setting."' Then the chief reciter Zazamankh spake his magic speech. And he placed one part of the waters of the lake upon the other, and discovered the jewel lying upon a shard; and he took it up and gave it unto its mistress. And the water, which was twelve cubits deep in the middle, reached now to twenty-four cubits after he turned it. And he spake, and used his magic speech; and he brought again the water of the lake to its place. And his Majesty spent a joyful day with the whole of the royal house. Then rewarded he the chief reciter Zazamankh with all good things. Behold, this is a wonder that came to

pass in the days of thy father, the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Seneferu, of the deeds of the chief reciter, the scribe of the rolls, Zazamankh."

Then said the Majesty of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Khufu, the blessed, "Let there be presented an offering of a thousand cakes, one hundred draughts of beer, an ox, and two jars of incense to the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Seneferu, the blessed; and let there be given a loaf, a jar of beer, and a jar of incense to the chief reciter, the scribe of the rolls, Zazamankh; for I have seen the token of his learning." And they did all things as his Majesty commanded.

HORDEDEF'S TALE

The royal son Hordedef then stood forth and spake. He said, "Hitherto hast thou only heard tokens of those who have gone before, and of which no man knoweth their truth. But I will show thy Majesty a man of thine own days." And his Majesty said, "Who is he, Hordedef?" And the royal son Hordedef answered: "It is a certain man named Dedi, who dwells at Dedsneferu. He is a man of one hundred and ten years old; and he eats five hundred loaves of bread, and a side of beef, and drinks one hundred draughts of beer, unto this day. He knows how to restore the head that is smitten off; he knows how to cause the lion to follow him trailing his halter on the ground; he knows the designs of the dwelling of Tahuti. The Majesty of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Khufu, the blessed, has long sought for the designs of the dwelling of Tahuti, that he may make the like of them in his pyramid."

And his Majesty said, "Thou, thyself, Hordedef, my son bring him to me." Then were the ships made ready for the King's son Hordedef, and he went up the stream to Dedsneferu. And when the ships had moored at the haven, he landed, and sat him in a litter of ebony, the poles of which were of cedar wood overlaid with gold. Now when he drew near to Dedi, they set down the litter. And he arose to greet Dedi, and found him lying on a palm-stick couch at the door

of his house; one servant held his head and rubbed him, and another rubbed his feet.

And the King's son Hordedef said, "Thy state is that of one who lives to good old age; for old age is the end of our voyage, the time of embalming, the time of burial. Lie, then, in the sun, free of infirmities, without the babble of dotage: this is the salutation to worthy age. I come from afar to call thee, with a message from my father Khufu, the blessed, for thou shalt eat of the best which the King gives, and of the food which those have who follow after him; that he may bring thee in good estate to thy fathers who are in the tomb."

And Dedi replied to him, "Peace to thee! Peace to thee! Hordedef, son of the King, beloved of his father. May thy father Khufu, the blessed, praise thee, may he advance thee amongst the elders, may thy *ka* prevail against the enemy, may thy soul know the right road to the gate of him who clothes the afflicted; this is the salutation to the King's son." Then the King's son Hordedef stretched forth his hands to him, and raised him up, and went with him to the haven, giving unto him his arm. Then said Dedi, "Let there be given me a boat, to bring me my youths and my books." And they made ready for him two boats with their rowers. And Dedi went down the river in the barge in which was the King's son Hordedef. And when he had reached the palace the King's son Hordedef entered in to give account unto his Majesty the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Khufu, the blessed. Then said the King's son Hordedef: "O King, life, wealth, and health! My lord, I have brought Dedi." His Majesty replied, "Bring him to me speedily." And his Majesty went into the hall of columns of Pharaoh (life, wealth, and health), and Dedi was led before him. And his Majesty said, "Wherefore is it, Dedi, that I have not yet seen thee?" And Dedi answered, "He who is called it is that comes; the King (life, wealth, and health) calls me, and behold I come." And his Majesty said, "Is it true, that which men say, that thou canst restore the head which is smitten off?" And Dedi replied, "Truly, I know that, O King (life, wealth, and health), my lord." And his Majesty

said, "Let one bring me a prisoner who is in prison, that his punishment may be fulfilled." And Dedi said, "Let it not be a man, O King, my lord; behold we do not even thus to our cattle." And a duck was brought unto him, and its head was cut off. And the duck was laid on the west side of the hall, and its head on the east side of the hall. And Dedi spake his magic speech. And the duck fluttered along the ground, and its head came likewise; and when it had come part to part the duck stood and quacked. And they brought likewise a goose before him, and he did even so unto it. His Majesty caused an ox to be brought, and its head cast on the ground. And Dedi spake his magic speech. And the ox stood upright behind him, and followed him with his halter trailing on the ground.

And King Khufu said, "And is it true what is said, that thou knowest the number of the designs of the dwelling of Tathuti?" And Dedi replied, "Pardon me, I know not their number, O King (life, wealth, and health), but I know where they are." And his Majesty said, "Where is that?" And Dedi replied, "There is a chest of whetstone in a chamber named the plan-room, in Heliopolis; they are in this chest." And Dedi said further unto him, "O King (life, wealth, and health), my lord, it is no It that is to bring them to thee." And his Majesty said, "Who, then, is it that shall bring them to me?" And Dedi answered to him, "It is the eldest of the three children who are in the body of Rud-didet who shall bring them to thee." And his Majesty said, "Would that it may be as thou sayest! And who is this Rud-didet?" And Dedi replied, "She is the wife of a priest of Re, lord of Sakhebu. And she has conceived these three sons by Re, lord of Sakhebu, and the god has promised her that they shall fulfil this noble office of reigning over all this land, and that the eldest of them shall be high priest in Heliopolis." And his Majesty's heart became troubled for this; but Dedi spake unto him, "What is this that thou thinkest, O King (life, wealth, health), my lord? Is it because of these three children? I tell thee thy son shall reign, and thy son's son, and then one of them." His Majesty said, "And when shall

Rud-didet bear these?" And he replied, "She shall bear them on the 25th of the month Tybi." And his Majesty said, "When the banks of the canal of Letopolis are cut, I will walk there that I may see the temple of Re, lord of Sakhebu." And Dedi replied, "Then I will cause that there be four cubits of water by the banks of the canal of Letopolis." When his Majesty returned to his palace, his Majesty said, "Let them place Dedi in the house of the royal son Hordedef, that he may dwell with him, and let them give him a daily portion of a thousand loaves, a hundred draughts of beer, an ox, and a hundred bunches of onions." And they did everything as his Majesty commanded.

And one day it came to pass that Rud-didet felt the pains of birth. And the Majesty of Re, lord of Sakhebu, said unto Isis, to Nebhat, to Meskhent, to Hakt, and to Khnumu, "Go ye, and deliver Rud-didet of these three children that she shall bear, who are to fulfil this noble office over all this land; that they may build up your temples, furnish your altars with offerings, supply your tables of libation, and increase your endowments." Then went these deities; their fashion they made as that of dancing-girls, and Khnumu was with them as a porter. They drew near unto the house of Ra-user, and found him standing, with his girdle fallen. And they played before him with their instruments of music. But he said unto them, "My ladies, behold, here is a woman who feels the pains of birth." They said to him, "Let us see her, for we know how to help her." And he replied, "Come, then." And they entered in straightway to Rud-didet, and they closed the door on her and on themselves. Then Isis stood before her, and Nebhat stood behind her, and Hakt helped her. And Isis said, "O, child, by thy name of User-ref, do not do violence." And the child came upon her hands, as a child of a cubit; its bones were strong, the beauty of its limbs was like gold, and its hair was like true lapis lazuli. They washed him, and prepared him, and placed him on a carpet on the brickwork. Then Meskhent approached him and said, "This is a king who shall reign over all the land." And Khnumu gave strength to his limbs. Then Isis stood before

her, and Nebhat stood behind her, and Hakt helped her. And Isis said, "O child, by thy name of Sah-ra, stay not in her." Then the child came upon her hands, a child of a cubit; its bones were strong, the beauty of its limbs was like gold, and its hair was like true lapis lazuli. They washed him, and prepared him, and laid him on a carpet on the brickwork. Then Meskhent approached him and said, "This is a king who shall reign over all the land." And Khnumu gave strength to his limbs. Then Isis stood before her, and Nebhat stood behind her, and Hakt helped her. And Isis said, "O child, by thy name of Kaku, remain not in darkness in her." And the child came upon her hands, a child of a cubit; its bones were strong, the beauty of its limbs was like gold, and its hair was like true lapis lazuli. And Meskhent approached him and said, "This is a king who shall reign over all the land." And Khnumu gave strength to his limbs. And they washed him, and prepared him, and laid him on a carpet on the brickwork.

And the deities went out, having delivered Rud-didet of the three children. And they said, "Rejoice! O Ra-user, for behold three children are born unto thee." And he said unto them, "My ladies, and what shall I give unto ye? Behold, give this bushel of barley here unto your porter, that ye may take it as your reward to the brew-house." And Khnumu loaded himself with the bushel of barley. And they went away toward the place from which they came. And Isis spake unto these goddesses, and said, "Wherefore have we come without doing a marvel for these children, that we may tell it to their father who has sent us?" Then made they the divine diadems of the King (life, wealth, and health), and laid them in the bushel of barley. And they caused the clouds to come with wind and rain; and they turned back again unto the house. And they said, "Let us put this barley in a closed chamber, sealed up, until we return northward, dancing." And they placed the barley in a closed chamber.

And Rud-didet purified herself, with a purification of fourteen days. And she said to her handmaid, "Is the house made ready?" And she replied, "All things are made ready,

but the brewing barley is not yet brought." And Rud-didet said, "Wherefore is the brewing barley not yet brought?" And the servant answered, "It would all of it long since be ready if the barley had not been given to the dancing-girls, and lay in the chamber under their seal." Rud-didet said, "Go down, and bring of it, and Ra-user shall give them in its stead when he shall come." And the handmaid went, and opened the chamber. And she heard talking and singing, music and dancing, quavering, and all things which are performed for a king in his chamber. And she returned and told to Rud-didet all that she had heard. And she went through the chamber, but she found not the place where the sound was. And she laid her temple to the sack, and found that the sounds were in it. She placed it in a chest, and put that in another locker, and tied it fast with leather, and laid it in the store-room, where the things were, and sealed it. And Ra-user came returning from the field; and Rud-didet repeated unto him these things; and his heart was glad above all things; and they sat down and made a joyful day.

And after these days it came to pass that Rud-didet was wroth with her servant, and beat her with stripes. And the servant said unto those that were in the house, "Shall it be done thus unto me? She has borne three kings, and I will go and tell this to his Majesty King Khufu, the blessed." And she went, and found the eldest brother of her mother, who was binding his flax on the floor. And he said to her, "Whither goest thou, my little maid?" And she told him of all these things. And her brother said to her, "Wherefore comest thou thus to me? Shall I agree to treachery?" And he took a bunch of the flax to her, and laid on her a violent blow. And the servant went to fetch a handful of water, and a crocodile carried her away.

Her uncle went therefore to tell of this to Rud-didet; and he found Rud-didet sitting, her head on her knees, and her heart sad beyond measure. And he said to her, "My lady, why makest thou thy heart thus?" And she answered, "It is because of this little wretch that was in the house; behold she went out saying, 'I will go and tell it.'" And he bowed

his head unto the ground, and said, " My lady, she came and told me of these things, and made her complaint unto me; and I laid on her a violent blow. And she went forth to draw water, and a crocodile carried her away." ⁴

⁴ The rest of the tale is lost.

THE OLDEST BOOK IN THE WORLD

THE PRECEPTS OF PTAH-HOTEP

“For one early papyrus that has survived, many millions must have perished.”

— PROF. A. H. SAYCE.

“The counsels of former days; it is profitable for him who hears them, it is a loss to him who shall transgress them.”

— PTAH-HOTEP.

THE BOOK OF PTAH-HOTEP

(INTRODUCTION)

PERHAPS no other ancient manuscript has ever roused wider interest than the Precepts of Ptah-hotep. This venerable old teacher is certainly the earliest-known author in the world; and his book has won wide celebrity by being called earth's oldest book. This latter phrase needs explanation. Our existing copy of Ptah-hotep, known as the Prisse manuscript, is of uncertain age. It is a copy of an older work, which was apparently widely taught in very early Egyptian schools. Perhaps it was composed by some other than its reputed author and merely ascribed to him as a famous ancient sage. On the other hand, we know no reason why it may not have been written by Ptah-hotep himself, as he says it was, for the instruction of a young prince, the son of King Assa of the Fifth Dynasty. That would make it at least as old as the surviving Pyramid Texts or as the Palermo stone. Moreover, these other old texts are hardly to be called "books." Their brevity forbids the name; and their authors and origins are alike unknown. This is true also of all the early Babylonian texts. Ptah-hotep, on the contrary, is a teacher who deliberately sets himself to explaining to the world or to his pupil his entire philosophy of life, the sum total of his teachings. Ptah-hotep, therefore, is the oldest-known author, the oldest-known teacher, and his book is the oldest known in the world.

These facts give a curious interest to the personality of the writer himself. Ptah-hotep's book presents him as a venerable sage who has reached the traditional maximum of Egyptian age, a hundred and ten years. He is a relative, perhaps a brother, of King Assa, and is so distinguished for honor and wisdom that he has been entrusted with the guardianship of the King's son.

THE OLDEST BOOK IN THE WORLD

THE PRECEPTS OF PTAH-HOTEP

Precepts of the prefect the feudal lord Ptah-hotep, under the Majesty of the King of the South and North, Assa, living eternally forever.

I

The prefect, the feudal lord Ptah-hotep, says: O God with the two crocodiles,¹ my lord, the progress of age changes into senility. Decay falls upon man and decline takes the place of youth. A vexation weighs upon him every day; sight fails, the ear becomes deaf; his strength dissolves without ceasing. The mouth is silent, speech fails him; the mind decays, remembering not the day before. The whole body suffers. That which is good becomes evil; taste completely disappears. Old age makes a man altogether miserable; the nose is stopped up, breathing no more from exhaustion. Standing or sitting there is here a condition of . . . Who will cause me to have authority to speak, that I may declare to him the words of those who have heard the counsels of former days? And the counsels heard of the gods, who will give me authority to declare them? Cause that it be so and that evil be removed from those that are enlightened; send the double . . .

The majesty of this god says: Instruct him in the sayings of former days. It is this which constitutes the merit of the children of the great. All that which makes the soul equal

¹ Honhen or Osiris, as is shown by the 43d invocation of the 142d chapter of the Book of the Dead: "O Osiris, god with the two crocodiles!" But it is Osiris reborn and regaining, after decline and death, rejuvenescence and vigor. Chabas ("*Zeitschrift*," 1868, p. 101), studying the *stelæ* of Horus standing on the crocodiles, and noticing that this god is named "the aged who becomes young in his hour, the old man who becomes a child," very justly recalls the passage where Ptah-hotep invokes the aid of the god with the two crocodiles against the evils of old age.

penetrates him who hears it, and that which it says produces no satiety.

II

Beginning of the arrangement of the good sayings,² spoken by the noble lord, the divine father, beloved of God, the son of the king, the first-born of his race, the prefect and feudal lord Ptah-hotep, so as to instruct the ignorant in the knowledge of the arguments of the good sayings. It is profitable for him who hears them, it is a loss to him who shall transgress them.

He says to his son: Be not arrogant because of that which thou knowest; deal with the ignorant as with the learned; for the barriers of art are not closed, no artist being in possession of the perfection to which he should aspire. But good words are more difficult to find than the emerald,³ for it is by slaves that that is discovered among the rocks of pegmatite.⁴

III

If thou findest a disputant while he is hot,⁵ and if he is superior to thee in ability, lower the hands, bend the back, do not get into a passion with him. As he will not let thee destroy his words, it is utterly wrong to interrupt him; that proclaims that thou art incapable of keeping thyself calm, when thou art contradicted.

If then thou hast to do with a disputant while he is hot, imitate one who does not stir. Thou hast the advantage over him if thou keepest silence when he is uttering evil words. "The better of the two is he who is impassive," say the bystanders, and thou art right in the opinion of the great.

² Ptah-hotep arranges the good sayings of the past in verses in order to render them unalterable.

³ Literally, "the good word hides itself more than the emerald."

⁴ Literally, "being found by female slaves." The emerald is usually found in pegmatite, a compound of feldspath and quartz, out of which it was picked. The "Papyrus Ebers" informs us that the powder of pegmatite was used in the composition of a dentifrice.

⁵ Literally, "in his hour." A god is said to be "in his hour" when he is warlike.

IV

If thou findest a disputant while he is hot, do not despise him because thou art not of the same opinion. Be not angry against him when he is wrong; away with such a thing. He fights against himself; require him not further to flatter thy feelings. Do not amuse thyself with the spectacle which thou hast before thee; it is odious, it is mean, it is the part of a despicable soul so to do. As soon as thou lettest thyself be moved by thy feelings, combat this desire as a thing that is reproved by the great.

V

If thou hast, as leader, to decide on the conduct of a great number of men, seek the most perfect manner of doing so that thy own conduct may be without reproach. Justice is great, invariable, and assured; it has not been disturbed since the age of Osiris. To throw obstacles in the way of the laws is to open the way before violence. Shall that which is below gain the upper hand, if the unjust does not attain to the place of justice? even he who says: I take for myself, of my own free-will; but says not: I take by virtue of my authority. The limitations of justice are invariable; such is the instruction which every man receives from his father.

VI

Inspire not men with fear, else God will fight against thee in the same manner. If any one asserts that he lives by such means, God will take away the bread from his mouth; if any one asserts that he enriches himself thereby, God says: I may take these riches to myself. If any one asserts that he beats others, God will end by reducing him to impotence. Let no one inspire men with fear; this is the will of God. Let one provide sustenance for them in the lap of peace; it will then be that they will freely give what has been torn from them by terror.



OSIRIS. CHIEF OF THE GODS OF TUAT, THE WORLD OF DEATH, KING
OF THE FUTURE ELYSIAN FIELDS

VII

If thou art among the persons seated at meat in the house of a greater man than thyself, take that which he gives thee, bowing to the ground.⁶ Regard that which is placed before thee, but point not at it; regard it not frequently; he is a blameworthy person who departs from this rule. Speak not to the great man more than he requires, for one knows not what may be displeasing to him.⁷ Speak when he invites thee and thy word will be pleasing.⁸

As for the great man who has plenty of means of existence, his conduct is as he himself wishes. He does that which pleases him; if he desires to repose, he realizes his intention. The great man stretching forth his hand does that to which other men do not attain. But as the means of existence are under the will of God, one can not rebel against it.

VIII

If thou art one of those who bring the messages of one great man to another, conform thyself exactly to that wherewith he has charged thee; perform for him the commission as he hath enjoined thee. Beware of altering in speaking the offensive words which one great person addresses to another; he who perverts the truthfulness of his way, in order to repeat only what produces pleasure in the words of every man, great or small, is a detestable person.

IX

If thou art an agriculturist, gather the crops in the field which the great God has given thee, fill not thy mouth in the house of thy neighbors;⁹ it is better to make oneself dreaded by the possessor.¹⁰ As for him who, master of his own way

⁶ Literally, "put thyself on thy nose."

⁷ "That which is bad to the heart."

⁸ "Is thy word for being good to the heart."

⁹ That is, do not steal to live.

¹⁰ See VI, where those are condemned who "fleece" men by terrifying them. It seems that theft is here considered more blameworthy even than these extortions.

of acting, being all-powerful,¹¹ seizes the goods of others like a crocodile in the midst even of watchmen, his children are an object of malediction, of scorn, and of hatred on account of it, while his father is grievously distressed, and as for the mother who has borne him, happy is another rather than herself. But a man becomes a god when he is chief of a tribe which has confidence in following him.

X

If thou abasest thyself in obeying a superior, thy conduct is entirely good before God. Knowing who ought to obey and who ought to command, do not lift up thy heart against him. As thou knowest that in him is authority, be respectful toward him as belonging to him. Fortune comes only at her own good-will, and her caprice only is her law; as for him who . . . God, who has created his superiority, turns himself from him and he is overthrown.

XI

Be active during the time of thy existence, doing more than is commanded. Do not spoil the time of thy activity; he is a blameworthy person who makes a bad use of his moments. Do not lose the daily opportunity of increasing that which thy house possesses. Activity produces riches, and riches do not endure when it slackens.

XII

If thou art a wise man, bring up a son who shall be pleasing to God. If he conforms his conduct to thy way and occupies himself with thy affairs as is right, do to him all the good thou canst; he is thy son, a person attached to thee whom thine own self hath begotten. Separate not thy heart from him. . . . But if he conducts himself ill and transgresses thy wish, if he rejects all counsel, if his mouth goes according

¹¹ Literally, "for the master of the manner of acting as master of the things." The author means the powerful man who abuses his power in order to plunder openly and to place himself above the laws.

to the evil word, strike him on the mouth in return. Give orders without hesitation to those who do wrong, to him whose temper is turbulent; and he will not deviate from the straight path, and there will be no obstacle to interrupt the way.

XIII

If thou art employed in the *larit*, stand or sit rather than walk about. Lay down rules for thyself from the first: not to absent thyself even when weariness overtakes thee. Keep an eye on him who enters announcing that what he asks is secret; what is entrusted to thee is above appreciation, and all contrary argument is a matter to be rejected. He is a god who penetrates into a place where no relaxation of the rules is made for the privileged.

XIV

If thou art with people who display for thee an extreme affection, saying: "Aspiration of my heart, aspiration of my heart, where there is no remedy! That which is said in thy heart, let it be realized by springing up spontaneously. Sovereign master, I give myself to thy opinion. Thy name is approved without speaking. Thy body is full of vigor, thy face is above thy neighbors." If then thou art accustomed to this excess of flattery, and there be an obstacle to thee in thy desires, then thine impulse is to obey thy passion. But he who . . . according to his caprice, his soul is . . . , his body is . . . While the man who is master of his soul is superior to those whom God has loaded with his gifts; the man who obeys his passion is under the power of his wife.

XV

Declare thy line of conduct without reticence; give thy opinion in the council of thy lord; while there are people who turn back upon their own words when they speak, so as not to offend him who has put forward a statement, and answer not in this fashion: "He is the great man who will recognize the error of another; and when he shall raise his voice to op-

pose the other about it he will keep silence after what I have said."

XVI

If thou art a leader, setting forward thy plans according to that which thou decidest, perform perfect actions which posterity may remember, without letting the words prevail with thee which multiply flattery, which excite pride and produce vanity.

XVII

If thou art a leader of peace, listen to the discourse of the petitioner. Be not abrupt with him; that would trouble him. Say not to him: "Thou hast already recounted this." Indulgence will encourage him to accomplish the object of his coming. As for being abrupt with the complainant because he described what passed when the injury was done, instead of complaining of the injury itself let it not be! The way to obtain a clear explanation is to listen with kindness.

XVIII

If thou desirest to excite respect within the house thou enterest, for example the house of a superior, a friend, or any person of consideration, in short everywhere where thou enterest, keep thyself from making advances to a woman, for there is nothing good in so doing. There is no prudence in taking part in it, and thousands of men destroy themselves in order to enjoy a moment, brief as a dream, while they gain death, so as to know it. It is a villainous intention, that of a man who thus excites himself; if he goes on to carry it out, his mind abandons him. For as for him who is without repugnance for such an act, there is no good sense at all in him.

XIX

If thou desirest that thy conduct should be good and preserved from all evil, keep thyself from every attack of bad humor. It is a fatal malady which leads to discord, and there is no longer any existence for him who gives way to it.

For it introduces discord between fathers and mothers, as well as between brothers and sisters; it causes the wife and the husband to hate each other; it contains all kinds of wickedness, it embodies all kinds of wrong. When a man has established his just equilibrium and walks in this path, there where he makes his dwelling, there is no room for bad humor.

XX

Be not of an irritable temper as regards that which happens beside thee;¹² grumble not over thy own affairs. Be not of an irritable temper in regard to thy neighbors; better is a compliment to that which displeases than rudeness. It is wrong to get into a passion with one's neighbors, to be no longer master of one's words.¹³ When there is only a little irritation, one creates for oneself an affliction for the time when one will again be cool.¹⁴

XXI

If thou art wise, look after thy house; love thy wife without alloy. Fill her stomach, clothe her back; these are the cares to be bestowed on her person. Caress her,¹⁵ fulfil her desires during the time of her existence; it is a kindness which does honor to its possessor. Be not brutal; tact will influence her better than violence; her . . . behold to what she aspires, at what she aims, what she regards. It is that which fixes her in thy house; if thou repellst her, it is an abyss. Open thy arms for her, respondent to her arms; call her, display to her thy love.

XXII

Treat thy dependents well, in so far as it belongs to thee to do so; and it belongs to those whom God has favored. If

¹² "On the subject of things which are in two halves, on two sides, right and left, at the side of thee."

¹³ Literally, "deprived of the conduct of one's words."

¹⁴ Literally, "is a little difficulty in that affliction is created in coolness."

¹⁵ Literally, "anoint her."

any one fails in treating his dependents well it is said: "He is a person . . ." As we do not know the events which may happen to-morrow, he is a wise person by whom one is well treated. When there comes the necessity of showing zeal, it will then be the dependents themselves who say: "Come on, come on," if good treatment has not quitted the place; if it has quitted it, the dependents are defaulters.

XXIII

Do not repeat any extravagance of language; do not listen to it; it is a thing which has escaped from a hasty mouth. If it is repeated, look, without hearing it, toward the earth; say nothing in regard to it. Cause him who speaks to thee to know what is just, even him who provokes to injustice; cause that which is just to be done, cause it to triumph. As for that which is hateful according to the law, condemn it by unveiling it.

XXIV

If thou art a wise man, sitting in the council of thy lord, direct thy thought toward that which is wise. Be silent rather than scatter thy words. When thou speakest, know that which can be brought against thee. To speak in the council is an art, and speech is criticized more than any other labor; it is contradiction which puts it to the proof.

XXV

If thou art powerful, respect knowledge and calmness of language. Command only to direct; to be absolute is to run into evil. Let not thy heart be haughty, neither let it be mean. Do not let thy orders remain unsaid and cause thy answers to penetrate; but speak without heat, assume a serious countenance. As for the vivacity of an ardent heart, temper it; the gentle man penetrates all obstacles. He who agitates himself all the day long has not a good moment; and he who amuses himself all the day long keeps not his fortune. Aim at fulness like pilots; once one is seated another works, and seeks to obey one's orders.

XXVI

Disturb not a great man;¹⁶ weaken not the attention of him who is occupied.¹⁷ His care is to embrace his task, and he strips his person through the love which he puts into it. That transports men to God, even the love for the work which they accomplish. Compose then thy face even in trouble, that peace may be with thee, when agitation is with . . . These are the people who succeed in what they desire.¹⁸

XXVII

Teach others to render homage to a great man.¹⁹ If thou gatherest the crop for him among men,²⁰ cause it to return fully to its owner, at whose hands is thy subsistence. But the gift of affection is worth more than the provisions²¹ with which thy back is covered. For that which the great man receives from thee will enable thy house to live, without speaking of the maintenance thou enjoyest, which thou desirest to preserve;²² it is thereby that he extends a beneficent hand, and that in thy home good things are added to good things. Let thy love pass into the heart of those who love thee; cause those about thee to be loving and obedient.

XXVIII

If thou art a son of the guardians deputed to watch over the public tranquillity, execute thy commission without knowing its meaning, and speak with firmness. Substitute not for that which the instructor has said what thou believest to be his intention; the great use words as it suits them. Thy part is to transmit rather than to comment upon.

¹⁶ "Let not a great man be diverted from his hour."

¹⁷ "Of him who is charged."

¹⁸ "Who cause that which is loved to prosper."

¹⁹ Literally, "Teach the great man that one may honor him, that one may do him honor."

²⁰ This probably means: "if thou collectest the taxes in the provinces for the governor."

²¹ The word also signifies "offerings."

²² "With the consideration, thou lovest that it lives." The taxes levied by the government pay for the maintenance of its officers, who thereby maintain their position.

XXIX

If thou art annoyed at a thing,²³ if thou art tormented by some one who is acting within his right, get out of his sight, and remember him no more²⁴ when he has ceased to address thee.

XXX

If thou hast become great after having been little, if thou hast become rich after having been poor, when thou art at the head of the city, know²⁵ how not to take advantage of the fact that thou hast reached the first rank, harden not thy heart because of thy elevation; thou art become only the steward of the good things of God.²⁶ Put not behind thee the neighbor who is like unto thee; be unto him as a companion.

XXXI

Bend thy back before thy superior. Thou art attached to the palace of the king; thy house is established in its fortune, and thy profits are as is fitting. Yet a man is annoyed at having an authority above himself, and passes the period of life in being vexed thereat. Although that hurts not thy . . . "Do not plunder the house of thy neighbors, seize not by force the goods which are beside thee." Exclaim not then against that which thou hearest, and do not feel humiliated. It is necessary to reflect when one is hindered by it that the pressure of authority is felt also by one's neighbor.

XXXII

Do not make . . . thou knowest that there are obstacles to the water which comes to its hinder part, and that there is no trickling of that which is in its bosom. Let it not . . . after having corrupted his heart.

²³ "At a time arrived."

²⁴ That is, "bear no rancor after being deservedly blamed."

²⁵ (Translation very doubtful.)

²⁶ "Thou art become the administrator, the prefect, of the provisions which belong to God."

XXXIII

If thou aimest at polished manners, call not him whom thou accostest. Converse with him especially in such a way as not to annoy him. Enter on a discussion with him only after having left him time to saturate his mind with the subject of the conversation. If he lets his ignorance display itself, and if he gives thee an opportunity to disgrace him, treat him with courtesy rather; proceed not to drive him into a corner; do not . . . the word to him; answer not in a crushing manner; crush him not; worry him not; in order that in his turn he may not return to the subject, but depart to the profit of thy conversation.

XXXIV

Let thy countenance be cheerful during the time of thy existence. When we see one departing from the storehouse who has entered in order to bring his share of provision,²⁷ with his face contracted, it shows ²⁸ that his stomach is empty and that authority is offensive to him. Let not that happen to thee; it is . . .

XXXV

Know those who are faithful to thee when thou art in low estate. Thy merit then is worth more than those who did thee honor. His . . ., behold that which a man possesses completely. That is of more importance than his high rank; for this is a matter which passes from one to another. The merit of one's son is advantageous to the father, and that which he really is is worth more than the remembrance of his father's rank.

XXXVI

Distinguish the superintendent who directs from the workman, for manual labor is little elevated; the inaction of the

²⁷ Literally, "the loaves of communion," probably the part which each had to contribute from the crops. It is possible, however, that the reference is to distributions of food by the authorities; the malcontents would then be those who find that too little is given to them instead of contributors who think that too much is required from them.

²⁸ "It is the making known the emptiness of his stomach."

hands is honorable. If a man is not in the evil way, that which places him there is the want of subordination to authority.

XXXVII

If thou takest a wife, do not . . . Let her be more contented than any of her fellow-citizens. She will be attached to thee doubly, if her chain is pleasant.²⁹ Do not repel her; grant that which pleases her; it is to her contentment that she appreciates thy direction.³⁰

XXXVIII

If thou hearest those things which I have said to thee,³¹ thy wisdom will be fully advanced. Although they are the means which are suitable for arriving at the *Ma*,³² and it is that which makes them precious, their memory would recede from the mouth of men. But thanks to the beauty of their arrangement in rhythm all their words will now be carried without alteration over this earth eternally.³³ That will create a *canvass* to be embellished, whereof the great will speak, in order to instruct men in its sayings.³⁴ After having listened to them the pupil will become a master,³⁵ even he who shall have properly listened to the sayings because he shall have heard them. Let him win success by placing

²⁹ "She being in the attachment doubly, sweet to her the bond."

³⁰ "Being her contentment, she appreciates the work."

³¹ The author has concluded his exposition of the wisdom of the ancients. He now speaks in his own name, and, while eulogizing the doctrines he has repeated, notices with satisfaction the perfect form he has given to them to prevent them from being effaced from the memory of men and to preserve them from alteration. Their rhythmic form allows neither omissions nor variations.

³² That is, to cause truth and justice to reign.

³³ I do not think that a clearer statement can be found of the existence of a poetical language, rhythmically arranged, among the ancient Egyptians.

³⁴ "The great will speak above; it is by explaining to a man the word." It therefore appears that the Precepts of Ptah-hotep were intended to be commented on by professors, and that there were schools of philosophy.

³⁵ *Abuu*, "artist," or "master-workman."

himself in the first rank; that is for him a position perfect and durable, and he has nothing further to desire forever. By knowledge his path is assured, and he is made happy by it on the earth. The wise man is satiated by knowledge; he is a great man through his own merits. His tongue is in accord with his mind;³⁶ just are his lips when he speaks, his eyes when he gazes, his ears when he hears. The advantage of his son is to do that which is just without deceiving himself.

XXXIX

To attend therefore profits the son of him who has attended. To attend³⁷ is the result of the fact that one has attended. A teachable auditor is formed, because I have attended. Good when he has attended, good when he speaks,³⁸ he who has attended has profited, and it is profitable to attend to him who has attended. To attend is worth more than anything else, for it produces love, the good thing that is twice good. The son who accepts the instruction of his father will grow old on that account. What God loves is that one should attend; if one attends not, it is abhorrent to God. The heart makes itself its own master when it attends and when it does not attend; but if it attends, then his heart is a beneficent master to a man.³⁹ In attending to instruction, a man loves what he attends to, and to do that which is prescribed is pleasant. When a son attends to his father, it is a twofold joy for both; when wise things are prescribed to him, the son is gentle toward his master. Attending to him who has attended when such things have been prescribed to him, he engraves upon his heart that which is approved by his father; and the recollection of it is preserved in the mouth of the living who exist upon this earth.

³⁶ "With his mind is his tongue."

³⁷ Literally, "To listen penetrates by one who has listened."

³⁸ "Good, listening; good, speaking." To "listen" includes the idea of "obeying."

³⁹ Literally, "life-health-strength of some one is his heart when listening."

XL

When a son receives the instruction of his father there is no error in all his plans. Train thy son to be a teachable man whose wisdom is agreeable to the great. Let him direct his mouth according to that which has been said to him; in the docility of a son is discovered his wisdom. His conduct is perfect, while error carries away the unteachable. To-morrow knowledge will support him, while the ignorant will be destroyed.

XLI

As for the man without experience who listens not, he effects nothing whatsoever. He sees knowledge in ignorance, profit in loss; he commits all kinds of error, always accordingly choosing the contrary of what is praiseworthy. He lives on that which is mortal, in this fashion. His food is evil words, whereat he is filled with astonishment. That which the great know to be mortal he lives upon every day, flying from that which would be profitable to him, because of the multitude of errors which present themselves before him every day.

XLII

A son who attends is like a follower of Horus; he is happy after having attended. He becomes great, he arrives at dignity, he gives the same lesson to his children. Let none innovate upon the precepts of his father; let the same precepts form his lessons to his children. "Verily," will his children say to him, "to accomplish what thou sayest works marvels."

Cause therefore that to flourish which is just, in order to nourish thy children with it. If the teachers allow themselves to be led toward evil principles, verily the people who understand them not will speak accordingly, and that being said to those who are docile they will act accordingly. Then all the world considers them as masters and they inspire confidence in the public; but their glory endures not so long as would please them. Take not away then a word from the ancient teaching, and add not one; put not one thing in place

of another; beware of uncovering the rebellious ideas which arise⁴⁰ in thee; but teach according to the words of the wise. Attend if thou wishest to dwell in the mouth of those who shall attend to thy words, when thou hast entered upon the office of master, that thy words may be upon our lips . . . and that there may be a chair from which to deliver thy arguments.⁴¹

XLIII

Let thy thoughts be abundant, but let thy mouth be under restraint, and thou shalt argue with the great. Put thyself in unison with the ways of thy master; cause him to say: "He is my son," so that those who shall hear it shall say: "Praise be to her who has borne him to him!" Apply thyself while thou speakest; speak only of perfect things; and let the great who shall hear thee say: "Twice good is that which issues from his mouth!"

XLIV

Do that which thy master bids thee. Twice good is the precept of our⁴² father, from whom we have issued, from his flesh. What he tells us, let it be fixed in our heart; to satisfy him greatly let us do for him more than he has prescribed. Verily a good son is one of the gifts of God, a son who does even better than he has been told to do.⁴³ For his master he does what is satisfactory, putting himself with all his heart on the part of right.⁴⁴

So⁴⁵ I shall bring it about that thy body shall be healthful, that the King shall be satisfied with thee in all circumstances, and that thou shalt obtain years of life without default.

It has caused me on earth to obtain one hundred and ten years of life, along with the gift of the favor of the King

⁴⁰ "That which flows in thee."

⁴¹ Literally, "Thy arguments being on their chair."

⁴² Literally, "The precept of his father, from whom he has issued."

⁴³ "Making increase on that which is said to him."

⁴⁴ "He does the *Ma*, putting himself with all his heart on its ways."

⁴⁵ That is, by means of these precepts.

among the first of those whom their works have ennobled, satisfying the King in a place of dignity.

It is finished, from its beginning to its end, according to that which is found in writing.⁴⁶

⁴⁶ This is the usual closing of a copied manuscript. The scribe guarantees the correctness of his copy-work.

THE MIDDLE EMPIRE

(2500 B.C.—1600 B.C.),

RELIGIOUS AND SEMI-HISTORIC TEXTS

“Literature, which must form the basis of any judgment of the standard of civilization, now assumes its widest range. It reveals a standard of culture and refinement which must rank among the highest.”

— PROF. P. E. NEWBERRY.

“Behold I have spoken to thee the best of my inner thoughts; set them stedfastly before thy face.”

— COUNSELS OF KING INTef.

RELIGIOUS AND SEMI-HISTORIC TEXTS

(INTRODUCTION)

THE literature of the Middle Empire may well be left to speak for itself. Its religious texts, while they present us no single large accumulation of verse like the older Pyramid Texts, are yet numerous and keenly interesting. Most of them are what are called the "Coffin Texts." Individual coffins were now covered, as the chambers of the pyramids had formerly been, with chants and charms and funeral songs. Tomb-paintings also continued; and a rude form of the "Book of the Dead" appeared, though we have thought better to present this celebrated work to the reader in the complete and polished form which it attained during the later empire. Thus more than ever a series of formulæ grew up, by means of which the dead man was to assert himself and maintain his position in the world beyond. Charms for lesser occasions also became numerous and vehement, as witness the poor mother's charm, here given, to protect her babe.

Yet, side by side with the boastful "Coffin Texts" we now find funeral songs of another note. Pessimism uplifts its earliest voice, a leisurely, meditative pessimism, which doubts this splendid and god-defying immortality. The intellect for the first time asserts itself, as opposed to the emotions. The fact that man desires a hereafter no longer seems to him a cause sufficient for furious assertion that the hereafter exists. Perhaps this was because the Egyptian of this Middle Empire could already see around him the ruins of all the mighty structures of the Ancient Empire. A few centuries had slipped by, and what had become of the clamorous boast that had built the pyramids, the boast that kings at least could uprear a physical immortality and conquer the gods?

Herodotus tells us how, in a later age, the Egyptians used to drag in a skeleton at their feasts, with the warning cry,

“Eat, drink, and be merry; for to-morrow ye die.” The custom may well have had its origin in this Middle Empire. Here man first began seriously to question life. He asked himself whether existence, or any special part of it, was really worth while, and whether a life beyond this would be a happier one, and why. The two Harpers’ Songs here given are the most noted examples of this questioning spirit; and even more striking is the misanthrope’s review of life.

With this probing into life’s purposes there came a distinct awakening of the moral sense. Spiritually aroused now, and doubting this easily asserted immortality, man questioned himself as to his own worthiness for such an eternity. Compare with the boastful earlier tomb-record of Uni or Harkhuf the similar biographical record of Ameni, a noble of this period. Ameni tells us not of the greatness of his deeds, but of their moral worth, their kindliness and self-restraint.

So, too, this age bequeaths to us a number of “Counsels.” These were books of moral teaching, but of a different note from the general pedagogic dicta of Ptah-hotep. A single great man, usually the Pharaoh himself, speaks earnestly to his own son to warn him, guide him, and at times to ask for the son’s love and pity. These brief books must have become popular; for, like that of Ptah-hotep, they were widely copied, perhaps even studied in the schools.

The earliest of these that has come down to us is called the “Counsels of King Intef.” The Intefs were Pharaohs of the Eleventh Dynasty, and the manuscript itself is so old and so obscure that it has only been translated within the last three years by Mr. A. H. Gardiner. Our reading of the strange old text is still very imperfect and must at best be somewhat of a puzzle to the reader. Yet the work has a double value; for, in addition to its quaint mingling of moral counsels with shrewd worldly advice, it has a genuine historic interest. Kings’ records of their own reigns are rare among Egyptian remains; and amid his counsels King Intef inserts examples and warnings drawn from his own career.

In similar fashion the “Counsel of Amenemhet” mingles with its advice to his son Sesostrius some details of King

Amenemhet's own life. He is a world-weary old ruler who has learned to distrust every one, and pathetically cautions his son to do the same. "Fill not thy heart with a brother, know not a friend." Amenemhet's picture of the palace conspiracy against him is the most vivid piece of human and dramatic narrative that comes down to us from this far past.

RELIGIOUS AND SEMI-HISTORIC TEXTS

THE COFFIN TEXTS

THE OPENING CRY ¹

"I am Atum, I who was alone;
I am Re at his first appearance.
I am the Great God, self-generator,
Who fashioned his names, lord of gods,
Whom none approaches among the gods.
I was yesterday, I know to-morrow.
The battle-field of the gods was made when I spake.
I know the name of that Great God who is therein.
'Praise-of-Re' is his name.
I am that great Phœnix which is in Heliopolis."

THE GODS PROMISE JOY

"I come, I am Horus, who opens thy mouth,
Together with Ptah who glorifies thee,
Together with Thoth who gives to thee thy heart (understand-
ing);
. . . that thou mayest remember what thou hadst forgotten.
I cause that thou eat bread at the desire of thy body.
I cause that thou remember what thou hast forgotten.
I cause that thou eat bread . . . more than thou didst on
earth.

¹ The famous seventeenth chapter of the Book of the Dead was already a favorite chapter in this age, and begins the texts on a number of coffins. It is largely an identification of the deceased with the Sun-god, although other gods also appear. The dead man speaks, asserting his power and immortality.

Most of the poems of this section are taken from Breasted's "Development of Religion and Thought in Egypt," by permission of C. Scribner's Sons.

I give to thee thy two feet
 That thou mayest make the going and coming of thy two soles
 (or sandals).
 I cause that thou shouldst carry out commissions with the
 south wind
 And shouldst run with the north wind. . . .
 I cause that thou shouldst ferry over Peterui
 And ferry over the lake of thy wandering
 And the sea of thy sandal as thou didst on earth.
 Thou rulest the streams and the Phœnix. . . .
 Thou leviest on the royal domains.
 Thou repulsest the violent who comes in the night,
 The robber of early morning.² . . .
 Thou goest around the countries with Re ;
 He lets thee see the pleasant places,
 Thou findest the valleys filled with water for washing thee and
 for cooling thee,
 Thou pluckest marsh-flowers and heni-blossoms, lilies, and
 lotus-flowers.
 The bird-pools come to thee by thousands, lying in thy path.
 When thou hast hurled thy boomerang against them,
 It is a thousand that fall at the sound of the wind thereof.
 They are ro-geese, green-fronts, quails, and kunuset.³
 I cause that there be brought to thee the young gazelles, bul-
 locks of white bulls ;
 I cause that there be brought to thee males of goats and grain-
 fed males of sheep.
 There is fastened for thee a ladder to the sky.
 Nut gives to thee her two arms.
 Thou sailest in the Lily-lake.
 Thou bearest the wind in an eight-ship.
 These two fathers Re and Atum of the Imperishable Stars
 And of the Unwearable Stars sail thee.
 They command thee, they tow thee through the district with
 their imperishable ropes."

² Thus far the picture is Osirian ; it now becomes Solar.

³ Varieties of wild fowl.

A MOTHER'S CHARM AGAINST DEMONS ⁴

"Run out, thou who comest in darkness, who enterest in stealth, his nose behind him, his face turned backward, who loses that for which he came.

"Run out, thou who comest in darkness, who enterest in stealth, her nose behind her, her face turned backward, who loses that for which she came.

"Comest thou to kiss this child? I will not let thee kiss him.

"Comest thou to soothe him? I will not let thee soothe him.

"Comest thou to harm him? I will not let thee harm him.

"Comest thou to take him away? I will not let thee take him away from me.

"I have made his protection against thee out of Efet-herb, it makes pain; out of onions, which harm thee; out of honey which is sweet to living men and bitter to those who are yonder (the dead); out of the evil parts of the Ebdû-fish; out of the jaw of the meret; out of the backbone of the perch."

⁴No Egyptian mother hushed her ailing babe and laid it to rest without invoking unseen powers to free the child from the dark forms of evil, malice, and disease that lurked in every shadowy corner, or, slinking in through the open door as the gloom of night settled over the house, entered the tiny form and racked it with fever. Such demons might even assume friendly guise and approach under pretext of soothing and healing the little sufferer. We can still hear the mother's voice as she leans over her babe and casts furtive glances through the open door into the darkness where the powers of evil dwell.

THE FIRST POEM OF PESSIMISM⁵

Song which is in the house (tomb-chapel) of King Intef the justified, which is in front of the singer with the harp.

How prosperous is this good prince! ⁶
 It is a goodly destiny, that the bodies diminish,
 Passing away while others remain,
 Since the time of the ancestors,
 The gods who were aforetime,
 Who rest in their pyramids,
 Nobles and the glorious departed likewise,
 Entombed in their pyramids.
 Those who built their tomb-temples,
 Their place is no more.
 Behold what is done therein.
 I have heard the words of Imhotep and Hardedef,⁷
 Words greatly celebrated as their utterances.
 Behold the places thereof;
 Their walls are dismantled, *over →*
 Their places are no more,
 As if they had never been.

⁵ We possess two fragmentary versions of this song, one on papyrus, the other on the walls of a Theban tomb. But the papyrus version, the one here given, was also copied from a tomb, as the opening declares.

⁶ Meaning the dead king, in this instance one of the Eleventh Dynasty Intefs, in whose tomb the song was written.

⁷ Imhotep was grand vizier, chief architect, and famous wise man under King Zoser of the Third Dynasty (thirtieth century B.C.). He was the first great architect in stone-masonry construction, the father of stone architecture. The futility of the massive building methods which he introduced is thus brought out with double effectiveness. He has not escaped the fate of all the rest in the Old Kingdom cemetery. Hardedef was a royal prince, son of Khufu of Gizeh, and hence connected with the greatest pyramid. He lived about a century after Imhotep. Both of them had thus become proverbial wise men a thousand years after they had passed away.

None cometh from thence
That he may tell us how they fare;
That he may tell us of their fortunes,
That he may content our heart,
Until we too depart
To the place whither they have gone.

Encourage thy heart to forget it,
Making it pleasant for thee to follow thy desire,
While thou livest.
Put myrrh upon thy head,
And garments on thee of fine linen,
Imbued with marvelous luxuries,
The genuine things of the gods.

Increase yet more thy delights,
And let not thy heart languish.
Follow thy desire and thy good,
Fashion thine affairs on earth
After the mandates of thine own heart.
Till that day of lamentation cometh to thee,
When the silent-hearted hears not their lamentation,
Nor he that is in the tomb attends the mourning.

Celebrate the glad day,
Be not weary therein.
Lo, no man taketh his goods with him.
Yea, none returneth again that is gone thither.

THE SONG OF THE HARPER ⁸

Chanted by the singer to the harp who is in the chapel of the Osirian, the Patriarch of Amen, the blessed Neferhotep. He says:

The great one is truly at rest,
the good charge is fulfilled.
Men pass away since the time of Re ⁹
and the youths come in their stead.
Like as Re reappears every morning,
and Tum ¹⁰ sets in the horizon,
men are begetting,
and women are conceiving.
Every nostril inhaleth once the breezes of dawn,
but all born of women go down to their places.
Make a good day, O holy father!
Let odors and oils stand before thy nostril.
Wreaths of lotus are on the arms and the bosom of thy sister,
dwelling in thy heart, sitting beside thee.
Let song and music be before thy face,
and leave behind thee all evil cares!
Mind thee of joy, till cometh the day of pilgrimage,
when we draw near the land which loveth silence.
Not . . . peace of heart . . . his loving son.

⁸ This poem is, like the preceding one, a funeral chant, only this one is preserved on the tomb walls themselves. It is supposed to be sung by the harper at a feast or anniversary in remembrance of the deceased patriarch Neferhotep, who is represented sitting with his sister and wife Rennu-mast-neh, his son Ptahmes and his daughter Ta-Khat standing by their side, while the harper before them is chanting. The poet addresses his speech as well to the dead as to the living, assuming in his fiction the former to be yet alive.

⁹ The Sun.

¹⁰ A form of the Sun-god of the West, the chief god of Heliopolis.

THE MISANTHROPE ¹³

THE UNJUST ABHORRENCE OF HIS NAME

Lo, my name is abhorred,
Lo, more than the odor of birds
On summer days when the sky is hot.

Lo, my name is abhorred,
Lo, more than a fish-receiver
On the day of the catch when the sky is hot.

Lo, my name is abhorred,
Lo, more than the odor of fowl
On the willow-hill full of geese.

Lo, my name is abhorred,
Lo, more than the odor of fishermen
By the shores of the marshes when they have fished.

Lo, my name is abhorred,
Lo, more than the odor of crocodiles,
More than sitting under the bank full of crocodiles.

Lo, my name is abhorred,
Lo, more than a woman,
Against whom a lie is told her husband.¹⁴

¹³ This remarkable chant undertakes to demonstrate that life, far from being an opportunity for pleasure and unbridled indulgence, is more intolerable than death. The demonstration is contained in four poems which the unhappy man addresses to his own soul. The first poem portrays the unjust abhorrence in which our unfortunate's name is held by the world. Each three-line strophe begins with the refrain, "My name is abhorred," and then, to enforce this statement, adduces for comparison some detestable thing from the daily life of the people, especially the notorious stench of fish and fowl so common in the life of the Nile-dweller.

¹⁴ Two more strophes follow, but they are too obscure to be rendered. They exhibit the same structure, and evidently were similar in content

DEATH A GLAD RELEASE ¹⁵

Death is before me to-day
Like the recovery of a sick man,
Like going forth into a garden after sickness.

Death is before me to-day
Like the odor of myrrh,
Like sitting under the sail on a windy day.

Death is before me to-day
Like the odor of lotus-flowers,
Like sitting on the shore of drunkenness.

Death is before me to-day
Like the course of the freshet,
Like the return of a man from the war-galley to his house.

Death is before me to-day
Like the clearing of the sky,
Like a man fowling therein toward that which he knew not.

Death is before me to-day
As a man longs to see his house
When he has spent years in captivity.

¹⁵ The soul of the sufferer had shrunk back from death, and, like the Song of the Harper, proposed a life of pleasure as a way of escape. Then moved by the terror of death, and the hopelessness of material preparations to meet it, the unhappy man recoiled for a moment and turned to contemplate life. The two poems we have just read depict what he sees as he thus turns. What follows is the logical rebound from any faint hope that life may be possible, to the final conviction that death alone is the release from the misery in which he is involved. This third poem is a hymn in praise of death.

THE HIGH PRIVILEGES OF THE SOJOURN YONDER ¹⁶

He who is yonder
Shall seize the culprit as a living god,
Inflicting punishment of wickedness on the doer of it.

He who is yonder
Shall stand in the celestial bark,
Causing that the choicest of the offerings there be given
to the temples.

He who is yonder
Shall be a wise man who has not been repelled,
Praying to Re when he speaks.

¹⁶ Earlier in the struggle with his soul, the sufferer had expressed the conviction that he should be justified hereafter. He now returns to this conviction in this fourth poem, with which the remarkable document closes.



ISIS. WIFE OF OSIRIS AND QUEEN OF THE ELYSIAN FIELDS

THE TOMB RECORD OF BARON AMENI

There was no citizen's daughter whom I misused, there was no widow whom I afflicted, there was no peasant whom I evicted, there was no herdman whom I repelled, there was no overseer of five whose people I took away for unpaid taxes. There was none wretched in my community, there was none hungry in my time. When years of famine came, I plowed all the fields of the Oryx barony (his estate) as far as its southern and its northern boundary, preserving its people alive, furnishing its food so that there was none hungry therein. I gave to the widow as to her who had a husband. I did not exalt the great man above the small man in anything that I gave. Then came great Niles (inundations), possessors of grain and all things, but I did not collect the arrears of the field.

THE COUNSELS OF KING INTEF¹⁷

. . . mild in a case deserving . . . , but punish . . . them in every word. It is the first principle of kingship.¹⁸

If thou findest a . . . like a god, . . . whose neighbors are evil, whom the city . . . , whose dependents are many . . . whose . . . enters in . . . , and he is pleasant in the sight of his serfs . . . a man who talks much is a mischief-maker — suppress him, slay him, wipe out his name, destroy his kinsfolk, suppress his memory, and his dependents who love him.

The turbulent man is confusion to a city. He creates two factions among the young generation. If then thou findest one who belongs to a city, and his doings are passed beyond thee,¹⁹ cite him before the nobles, and suppress him. He is a rebel moreover. A man who talks much is a mischief-maker for a city. Bend the multitude, suppress its ardor. There is none who . . . rebellion with the poor man. He is made to rebel.²⁰

Make thyself innocent before God. Let the people say, in spite of thee, that thou punishest in accordance with thy . . . A good disposition is a man's heaven; the blaspheming of the passionate man is baneful.

Be skilful in speech in order that thou mayst prevail. The tongue is a . . . and a sword to a king. Speech is more powerful than any fighting. None can circumvent him who

¹⁷ This is probably the Pharaoh of the Eleventh Dynasty, Intef II., who is leaving a sort of will or collection of counsels to his son and successor Mentuhotep I. The translation is by Dr. A. H. Gardiner.

¹⁸ These opening lines are almost hopelessly effaced. After this first passage, the sense only becomes fairly clear with the fifth section or paragraph, which here follows.

¹⁹ *I.e.*, "if he has got out of hand."

²⁰ Thus far the counsels proffered have been counsels of political wisdom. The old King now goes on to speak of qualifications more personal and intimate. There is here another unreadable gap in the papyrus.

is clever. . . . A wise king is a school to the nobles; they do not thwart him who knows the measure of his knowledge. No falsehood draws nigh to him. Truth comes to him in pure essence like the sayings of the Ancestors.

Copy thy fathers who have gone before thee . . . is achieved by knowledge. Behold, their words are recorded in writing. Open and read and copy him who knows. Thus he who is skilled becomes one who is instructed. Be not evil; good is willingness of heart. Make a lasting monument for thyself in the love of thee. Multiply . . . show kindness to the city. God will praise thee for regard; . . . will give thee praises for thy goodness, will wish for thy health henceforward.

Show consideration to the nobles and prosper thy people. Make firm thy boundaries and thy borders. Good it is to work for the future. Respect a life of energy, for self-content will make a wretched man. Let men . . . through thy good disposition. Weak it is to bind to oneself the land. . . . A fool is he who is greedy when others possess. Life upon earth passes; it is not long. Fortunate is he who is remembered in it. The possession of a million men availeth not the Lord of the Two Lands. The good man shall be living forever. He who has passed with Osiris departs, even as he who was pleasant to himself is dissolved.

Magnify thy nobles, that they may do thy ordinances. He who is wealthy in his house does not deal partially; he is rich and does not want. The poor man does not speak according to his truth. He who says "I desire" is not fair. He is partial to him whom he loves; he inclines toward the possessor of rewards. Great is the Great one, when his great ones are great. Strong is the King who possesses courtiers. Exalted is he who is wealthy in nobles. Speak thou Truth in thy house, that the nobles who are upon earth may fear thee. Uprightness of heart befits the Sovereign. The inside of a house inspires the outside with fear.²¹

Do Justice, that thou mayst endure upon earth. Calm the

²¹ Doubtless a proverb. The preceding sentence appears to mean, literally, "It is appropriate to a sovereign upright of heart."

weeper. Oppress not the widow. Expel no man from the possessions of his father. Degrade not magistrates from their posts. Take heed lest thou punish wrongfully. Slaughter not, for it doth not profit thee.²² But punish with beatings and imprisonment,²³ for thus shall this land prosper. Excepting only the rebel who has devised his plans, for God knoweth the froward, and God requiteth his sins in blood. It is the lenient man who . . . lifetime. Yet slay not a man, when thou knowest his good qualities, with whom thou once didst rehearse thy letters,²⁴ and recite . . . God. Advance boldly in difficult places. The soul comes to the place that it knoweth; it mistaketh not its paths of yesterday. No magic can restrain it, but it hastens toward them who give it water.

As for the Magistrates who judge sinners, mark thee that they will not be lenient on that day of judging miserable men, in the hour of performing their function. Woe is him who is accused as one conscious of sin. Put not thy faith in length of years, for they regard a lifetime as but an hour. A man remains over after reaching the haven of Death. His deeds are laid beside him for all treasure. Eternal is the existence yonder. A fool is he who has made light of it. But he who has reached it without wrong-doing shall continue yonder like a God, stepping forward boldly like the Lords of Eternity.

Raise up thy young troops, that the Residence may love thee. Multiply thy dependents as henchmen. Behold, thy city is full of fresh recruits. Twenty years it is that the young generation is happy in following its heart. Afterward, henchmen come forth again; the head of a family²⁵ enters in with children. . . . Thus doth antiquity fight for us, whence I raised troops when I arose as King. Exalt thy great ones, advance thy warriors. Increase the young generation of thy

²² It would be grammatically possible, perhaps even preferable, to construe this as a restrictive clause, "unless it profit thee."

²³ Literally, "with men beaten and imprisoned."

²⁴ Literally, "sing writings." Those who have visited a native school in Egypt will appreciate the meaning of this phrase.

²⁵ The meaning must be "one who causes to enter," i.e., "begets children." It is very instructive to note that the length of a generation is here put down as twenty years.

followers, that they may be equipped with possessions, endowed with fields, rewarded with cattle.

Distinguish not between the son of a noble and him of lowly birth. Take to thyself a man because of his capacity. All crafts are done according to . . . the Lord of Valor. Protect thy boundary, and raise up thy monuments. Profitable are gangs of workmen to their lord. Make beautiful monuments for the God; that causeth to live the name of him who doeth it. A man does what is profitable unto his soul, even the monthly service of priest, and wearing the white sandals. Frequent the shrine. Be discreet concerning the mysteries, enter into the sanctuary. Eat bread in the temple.

Replenish the table of offerings; increase the loaves. Add to the daily sacrifices, for it is profitable to him who does so. Make firm thy monuments according as thou art rich. For a single day giveth for eternity, an hour makes beautiful for futurity. God knoweth him who worketh for him. Bring thy statues from a distant land, nor let them reckon the total thereof. For miserable is he that is free from enmity; never is the enemy still ²⁶ in the midst of Egypt.²⁷

Troops shall subdue troops, as runs the prophecy of the Ancestors concerning it. Egypt fights in the Necropolis. Injure not the tombs with deeds of injury; for even so I did and even so it did occur, even as should be done to one who has transgressed in this way with the god. Deal not evilly with the Southern land, for thou knowest the prophecy of the

²⁶ Literally, "cold." It appears to be meant that enemies will fail to give the King due recognition, but this is only to be expected.

²⁷ Thus far the advice given to Mentuhotep has been of a general character, lessons drawn from a knowledge of the world and from the teaching of history. From this point onward the counsels of the old King contain a more personal note; he recalls the events of his own reign, and uses his own successes and failures to point a moral. At the same time the language employed becomes more obscure, the textual corruptions more numerous. This is all the more tantalizing because it is evident that the events alluded to are of very considerable interest. The first paragraph deals with occurrences in the neighborhood of Thinis. Even the general drift of the passage can not be elicited without some degree of uncertainty, but the rendering is to some extent supported by a reference to the same events that occurs later on.

Residence concerning it. That shall happen even as this did happen. They did not transgress, according as they said. . . . I speak of Thinis, . . . its southern boundary at Taut. I captured it like a flood of water. King Mer . . . the deceased, did not do it. Be lenient concerning it. . . . There is no . . . which causes itself to lie hid. It is good to work for the future.

Thou ²⁸ standest well with the South; the bearers of loads come to thee with gifts. I did the same as the Ancestors; there was none who had corn that he should give it. Be indulgent for their weaknesses toward thee. Be satisfied with thy bread and thy beer.²⁹ The red granite comes to thee without expeditions. Harm not the monument of another, but quarry stone in Royu.³⁰ Build not thy tomb out of that which has been overturned, making what once was made into what is yet to make. Behold the King is one full of joy of heart. Thou art indolent and sleepest through my strength; thou followest thy heart through what I have done. There is no enemy within thy border.

When any ruler arose in a city, his heart was oppressed by reason of the North-land, from Hat-shenu to Sbeka, its southern boundary to Khawey.³¹ I pacified the entire West, as far as the stretches of the Fayum. It works for itself, and it yields. . . . The East is one rich in foreigners, their produce

²⁸ In this section the relations of Mentuhotep to his Southern neighbors are described. For the moment there appears to be a lull in the hostilities between the rival houses of Thebes and Heracleopolis. This truce seems to have made possible the importation of the red granite of Syene; and since the fine limestone quarries of Turah are also accessible to Mentuhotep there will be no excuse for him if he demolishes ancient tombs in order to construct his own. In the final sentences the old King appears to contrast the prosperity of the present with the troubled conditions prevailing in his own reign; and to emphasize the fact that it is due to him if Mentuhotep can now afford to live in inactivity and luxury.

²⁹ Mentuhotep is bidden to be indulgent and contented with what he already possesses, in case at any time the imports from the South should be curtailed; he is at all events better off than was his father.

³⁰ *I.e.*, the celebrated limestone-quarries of Troia or Turah, not far from Helwan.

³¹ The marsh-land of the Heracleopolite nome.

. . . islands in the midst, every man within it. The estates say, "Greatly revered art thou" concerning me.³²

Behold the land which they destroyed is made into districts. Every great city. . . . The principality of one is in the hand of ten men. The magistrate . . . with all manner of tax which exists. The priest is entrusted with fields. They work for thee like a single gang of laborers. How comes it that rebels are not made? Because Nile does not fail thee by not coming. Produce is in thy hand from the North-land. Behold, I drove in my mooring-post in the region which I made on the East, from the boundaries of Hebenu to the Horus-Way, equipped with cities, filled with people of the best of the entire land, so as to repel their attacks. Let me see a brave man who shall copy it, and add to what I have done, . . . from a cowardly heir.³³

Speak thus, moreover, to the barbarian. Behold the wretched Aamu, toilsome is the land wherein he is, a land troubled with water, made difficult by many trees, its ways made toilsome by reason of the mountains. He dwells not in a single place, but his legs are ever driven wandering. He is fighting ever since the time of Horus. He conquers not, nor yet is he conquered. He announces not a day in fighting, like one who undertakes the suppression of conspirators.

. . . whilst I existed, these barbarians were as a battle-axe in a fortress. . . . I caused the North-land to smite them, I carried captive their inhabitants, I plundered their cattle. An abomination is the Aamu unto Egypt. Do not trouble thyself concerning him. He is an Aamu . . . he . . . on

³² This section and the next are very obscure, but we can at least see that the latter deal with the liberation of the Eastern Delta from the domination of foreign rulers. The Asiatics are not actually mentioned by name, but there are frequent references to them in the following paragraphs. It is particularly regrettable that lacunæ should render the sense of the first two sentences somewhat uncertain, for it appears to be an Egyptian version of the famous maxim *Divide et impera*.

³³ Continuing the topic of the preceding paragraph, we now come to what is perhaps the most curious passage in the entire papyrus, a characterization of Syria and the Syrians. Such generalizations are rare in Egyptian texts.

his coast. He plunders a lonely settlement but he will not attack a populous city.

Dig ³⁴ a dike against half of it, and flood half of it, even Kem-vey. Behold it is the navel-string of the desert-people; its walls and its warriors are many, and subjects are in it able to . . . , the pure of the region of Dad-esut. It counts ten thousand men as citizens, free and without imposts. There are magistrates in it since the time of the Residence. Established are its boundaries, strong its garrison, northerners many. Inundate them. The North-land gives produce in corn in freedom. It is to . . . of him who does it. Behold it is the handle of the North-land. They have made a dike against Heracleopolis. Suitable is a populous city. Beware lest thou be surrounded by subjects of an enemy, for prisoners . . . old a year.

When thy boundary is troubled toward the South, it is the barbarians who take the girdle.³⁵ Build castles in the North-land. A man's name is surely not small through that which he doeth. A well-provided town is not harmed. Build castles . . . , for the enemy loves him who is destructive, whose deed is evil. King Akhthoi the deceased foretold in giving instruction: "He who is quiet shall be made violent. . . . God thwarts the rebel . . . home."³⁶

³⁴ A very obscure and corrupt passage.

³⁵ The sense of the word is uncertain, but the phrase must somehow mean "gird oneself" for battle.

³⁶ With these very obscure sentences we reach the end of the paragraphs that allude to foreign enemies on the Northeast frontier. It is not quite easy to see exactly to what they amount. There is certainly no reason for deducing from them a prolonged domination of Syrian invaders at all analogous to the Hyksos domination. Still the space accorded to them, and the stress laid upon the fortification of the Eastern Delta, suffice to show that they had been a source both of danger and actual trouble. The first sentence of the section just translated probably defines the situation with accuracy. Neither the Syrians of Palestine nor the tribes of the Sinaitic peninsula were ever strong enough in prosperous times to make a successful invasion of Egypt; but when inner disruption gave them their opportunity, they were never slow to seize it. Thus while Mentuhotep's predecessors were at variance with their Southern neighbors, it may well have happened that the Asiatics harried the North, and even made settlements there, until the Pharaoh was strong enough to drive them out again.

There comes one who shall do it. He shall be wise in what he has decreed . . . on that day of his coming. Enrich the tables of offerings. Revere the god, and say not he is weak. Let not thine arms be slack, but work joyfully. Satiety is the violation of heaven. Death is a monument in the opinion of an enemy. He does not diminish it though desire that what he hath done may be embellished by one who comes after him. There is none without an enemy. Full of knowledge is the ruler of the two lands. Not ignorant is the King who possesses nobles. He is wise at his going forth from the womb; the gold exalted him from among a million men.³⁷

A goodly office is that of King; it has no son, nor has it a brother who is made to endure upon its monuments. One brings honor to another. A man works for him who went before him, through the desire that what he has done may be embellished by him who comes after him. Behold a calamity happened in my time; the regions of Thinis were violated. It happened in sooth through that which I had done; I knew it after it was done. Behold my recompense followed from what I had done. Nay, but weak is he, and no good man, who restores what he has destroyed, and demolishes what he has built, and improves what he has made beautiful.³⁸ Take heed concerning it. A blow is rewarded with the like thereof; that is the consequence of all that is done.

A generation of men passes, and God, who discerneth characters, hath hidden himself. Yet there is none can oppose the possessor of a hand; he is one who thwarts even what is seen by the eyes.³⁹ Reverence must be shown to God upon his path. Men work in precious stones, and carve out of bronze. The mud-flat is replaced by a flood. There is no

³⁷ It is only with the utmost difficulty that the trend of this and the following sections can be conjectured. If guessed rightly, the ambitious ideals of a King are here contrasted with the negative and unprogressive purposes of his enemies. Herein the King displays his wisdom, a thought developed further in the next paragraph.

³⁸ The sense seems to be; it is both useless, and weak, to try and repair damage done; the consequences of actions must be borne.

³⁹ The general sense is perhaps: though God hide himself, yet his unseen strength is felt.

river that suffers itself to be concealed;⁴⁰ but it looses the dam by which it lay hid. Even so also the soul cometh to the place that it knoweth. Make stately thy castle in the West, adorn thy place in the Necropolis; even as one who is just, as one who doeth Right. This is that whereon men's hearts repose. More acceptable is the nature of one just of heart than the ox of him who doeth iniquity. Work unto God, that he may work for thee the like; with offerings to replenish the offering-tables, and with carved inscription—it is what pointeth out thy name. God is cognizant of the man who worketh for him.⁴¹

Command thou men, the flocks of God. He made heaven and earth at their desire. He checked the greed of the waters, and made the air to give life to their nostrils. They are his own images proceeding from his flesh. He arises in heaven at their desire. He made for them grass and cattle, fowl and fish to nourish them. He slew his enemies and destroyed his own children because of their plots in making rebellion. He maketh the dawn at their desire. He sails by in order to see them. He has raised a shrine behind them. When they weep, he heareth. He made for them rulers in the egg, a supporter to support the back of the weak. He made for them magic as weapons to ward off evil events; dreams also by night and day. How hath he slain the froward of heart? Even as a man smiteth his son for his brother's sake. For God knows every name.⁴²

⁴⁰ *I.e.*, even as the inundation recurs annually, or as a soul returns to its own place, so God will come back to claim his due.

⁴¹ The conception of God's hiding himself in troubled moments of history is familiar from the much-disputed passage in the Leiden "Admonitions." Though the terms of both passages are vague and elusive, it is clear in each case that the Sun-god Re was at the back of the writer's mind. Confirmation of this will be found in the next paragraph, which eulogizes God as the author of all existence and well-being.

⁴² This monotheistic passage is perhaps the earliest, and certainly one of the most remarkable of its kind. That the Sun-god is meant is plain, not only from the phrase "he arises," but also from the clear allusion to the familiar legend of the "Destruction of Men" preserved to us in the tomb of Sethos I. A very striking sentence is that in which the god is said to have created magic, to be used by men for their personal protection against accidents.

Do not do anything which my mouth . . . when it gives any laws concerning the King. Direct thy face straight forward and . . . as a man. Oh that thou mayst reach me, without finding thy accuser. Slay not any that is near unto thee; the god who knows him commends him to thee. He who is happy upon earth is one of them; gods are they who serve the King. Instil the love of thyself in all the land. A good character is for a remembrance. . . . It was said concerning thee, "Perished is the time of the weak" by those at the back in the house of Akhthoi, in foretelling its coming to-day. Behold I have spoken to thee the best of my inner thoughts; set them stedfastly before thy face.

COUNSEL OF AMENEMHET I.⁴³

Beginning with the teaching, which the Majesty of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt; Sehetepibre, son of Re: Amenemhet triumphant, composed.

He saith, while distinguishing truth,
For his son, the All-Lord;
He saith: "Shine as a god!
Harken to that which I say to thee,
That thou mayest be king of the earth,
That thou mayest be ruler of the lands,
That thou mayest increase good.

Harden thyself against all subordinates.
The people give heed to him who terrorizes them;
Approach them not alone.
Fill not thy heart with a brother,
Know not a friend,
Nor make for thyself intimates,
Wherein there is no end.
When thou sleepest, guard for thyself thine own heart;
For a man has no people,
In the day of evil.

⁴³ The composition is in poetic form. It must have been a favorite composition, to judge from the number of manuscripts which have survived. They are all, however, so excessively corrupt that much is unintelligible, and has been omitted here. Whether the historical statements in the document are authentic or not, there is no known reason to doubt their truth; on the contrary, all but the attempt upon the King's life are corroborated by conclusive external evidence. These statements, in the order of their occurrence, are as follows: the attempt on the King's life; Sesostris I.'s coregency; the King's reorganization of Egypt; the agricultural prosperity; foreign conquests in Nubia and among the Bedwin; building of a palace. There seems to be no chronological order in this enumeration, for the reorganization of the country took place in the first years, long before the coregency. It is fair to conclude, however, that the attempt on the King's life was the cause of the association of Sesostris on the throne.

I gave to the beggar, I nourished the orphan;
I admitted the insignificant as well as him who was great of
account.

But he who ate my food made insurrection,
He, to whom I gave my hand, aroused fear therein;
They who put on my fine linen looked upon me as . . .
They who anointed themselves with my myrrh, defiled
me. . . .

It was after the evening meal, night had come.
I took an hour of heart's ease.
Lying upon my couch, I relaxed;
My heart began to follow slumber.
Behold, weapons were flourished,
Council was held against me,
While I was like a serpent of the desert.
I awoke to fight, utterly alone. . . .
As I quickly grasped the weapons in my hand,
I hurled back the wretches. . . .

Behold, the abomination occurred, while I was without thee,
While the court had not yet heard that I had delivered to thee
the kingdom.

While I had not yet sat with thee.
Let me adjust thy administration;
For I do not terrify them, I do not think of them,
My heart does not endure the slackness of servants. . . .⁴⁴

I sent to Elephantine,
I reached the Delta,
I stood on the borders of the land,
I inspected its interior,
I carried forward the boundaries of valor by my bravery, by
my deeds.

I was one who cultivated grain, and loved the harvest-god;
The Nile greeted me in every valley;

⁴⁴ The general sense is: the conspiracy was formed in the palace.

None was hungry in my years, none thirsted then ;
One dwelt in peace through that which I did ; conversing concerning me.

All that I commanded was correct.
I captured lions, I took crocodiles,
I seized the people of Wawat,
I captured the people of Mazoi.
I caused the Bedwin to go like hounds.
I made a palace decked with gold,
Whose ceilings were of lazuli, and the walls therein.
The floors . . . ,
The doors were of copper,
The bolts were of bronze,
Made for everlastingness,
At which eternity fears.⁴⁵

⁴⁵ The remainder of every one of our papyri on this theme has become so obscure that the end is untranslatable.

THE MIDDLE EMPIRE

(2500 B.C.—1600 B.C.)

TALES OF ROMANCE AND TRAVEL

“The stories of the Middle Empire were in choice diction, large portions of them being rhetorical or poetical compositions attributed to the principal characters.”

—PROF. A. H. SAYCE.

“Oh, permit me to refresh thy heart with my discourse.”

—FROM THE TALE OF “THE ELOQUENT PEASANT.”

THE MIDDLE EMPIRE TALES OF ROMANCE AND TRAVEL

(INTRODUCTION)

THE surviving fiction of the Middle Empire is not extensive in amount. Fiction was not preserved in tomb and monument inscriptions but only in writings on papyrus; and, strangely long-lived as some of the fragile papyri have proved, few of them have survived to the brittle age of four thousand years, which is roughly the interval which separates us from the Middle Empire. "The Eloquent Peasant," the first piece here given, is to be regarded less as a story than as a sort of ancient rhetoric, our earliest study of eloquence. The elaborate speeches of a peasant form the main theme of the tale; and the whole or portions of the speeches have survived to us in so many manuscripts that they were probably studied in the schools and set as exercises for students.

With "The Shipwrecked Sailor" we come to the earliest adventure tale. Or shall we call it the earliest of "travelers' tales"? Its impossible picture of the marvels of strange countries places it in the shadowy borderland betwixt romance or fairyland and actual human ramblings. Egyptologists remain in doubt as to how far its first readers may have accepted it literally as an historical fact.

Of the third of our narratives, "The Memoirs of Sinuhit," we need make no such question. If not actual biography, it so amazingly copies the biographic style that even in its own day it must certainly have been read as genuine. And though Sinuhit's tomb, on which the account may have been first inscribed, no longer exists, yet few readers will doubt that the several papyri which now preserve the tale are thus recording for us the actual wanderings of an ancient Egyptian nobleman through what was then the barbaric land of Pales-

tine. The date of Sinuhit's sojourn in what was later to be the Holy Land is fixed for us by the tale itself. It refers to King Amenemhet I., the same whose counsel is printed in the preceding section. Amenemhet was the founder of the great Twelfth Dynasty; and if we accept the most recent figures of archeologists, this would set his death date at 1970 B.C. The older reckoning carried this date back to about 1500 years earlier. Hence Sinuhit's visit far antedated Moses or the days of Joseph and his brethren, and may even have antedated Abraham.

The date of the last tale given here, our earliest "ghost story," is by no means so clear. It has survived only in fragments on the pieces of a broken pot or tablet of a later period. The story tells of a Pharaoh who has been variously identified as belonging to the antique age of the great pyramid-builders, and more probably as belonging to the close of the Middle Empire. The story itself is clearly an old one, and its unique ghostly flavor gives a value and interest to even such fragments of it as our Egyptologists can interpret.

TALES OF ROMANCE AND TRAVEL

THE ELOQUENT PEASANT ¹

There was once a man, Khunianupu by name, who was a fellah (peasant) of the Plain of Salt,² and he had a wife Nofrit by name. This fellah said to this his wife, "Lo, I go down to Egypt to bring back bread³ from thence for our children. Go, measure me the corn that is in the granary, the remainder of this year's corn." Then he measured for her eight bushels of corn. This fellah said to this his wife, "Behold! here are these two bushels of corn for thee and thy children, but of these six bushels of corn make me bread and beer⁴ for each day that I shall be on the journey." When this fellah went down into Egypt, he loaded his asses with reeds, rushes, natron, salt, wood of Uiti, acacia from the Country of the Oxen, wolf skins, jackal hides, sage, onyx, maize, colocynth, coriander, aniseed, talc, ollite, wild mint, grapes, pigeons, partridges, quails, anemones, narcissus, seed of the

¹ This translation is from the "*Contes Populaires*" of Maspero, which has been translated into English by Mrs. C. H. Johns. The American edition, by Putnam's Sons, is called "Popular Stories of Ancient Egypt," and contains practically all of the surviving Egyptian fiction. M. Maspero's works are now under the editorship of M. Augustin Challamel, who kindly permits their use here.

² The Plain of Salt is the country of the Wady Natrun, to the west of the Delta, and northeast of Hnes.

³ This must not be taken literally, and we must not imagine that the man intended to return with a load of bread. The word *aiku* was used by the ancient Egyptians in the same way that *aish* is employed by modern Egyptians, to express all kinds of provisions required to feed a household.

⁴ This combination explains itself when we understand the Egyptian method of making beer. They used the crumb of stale bread in place of yeast. Scenes produced in bas-relief, or with wooden figures in the tombs of the first Theban Empire and of the Memphite Empire, always combine baking and brewing. It is therefore natural that the fellah should order his wife to make both bread and beer with the corn he gave her.

sun, hairs of the earth, and allspice, complete with all the good products of the Plain of Salt.⁵

When therefore the fellah had gone south to Khininnsuit⁶ and had arrived at the place called Pafifi to the north of the town of Madenit,⁷ he met a man who was on the bank, Thotnakhuiti by name, son of a person Asari by name, both of them serfs of Rensi, son of Maru, mayor of the palace. This Thotnakhuiti, as soon as he beheld the asses of this fellah, being astonished at heart, said, "May every god favor me, that I may obtain the property of this fellah." Now the dwelling of this Thotnakhuiti was close to a riverside path, which was narrow, not ample, so much so that it was just the breadth of a piece of linen, with the water on one side and wheat on the other. This Thotnakhuiti said to his servant, "Hasten and bring me a piece of cloth from my house." It was brought him, and he spread it on the pathway, so that the edge touched the water and the fringe touched the wheat.⁸ When therefore the fellah came on to the road which was for every one, this Thotnakhuiti said, "Be so good,⁹ fellah, do not tread on my linen." This fellah said, "To do as thou shalt commend, my ways are good." As he turned toward the higher part, Thotnakhuiti said, "Is my corn to serve as thy pathway, fellah?" This fellah said, "My ways are good, but the bank is high, the roads have wheat; thou hast barred

⁵ The names of these minerals and seeds are somewhat uncertainly identified with modern corresponding terms.

⁶ Hakhininsuit, or Hakhininsuiti, is the town called by the Assyrians Khininsu, by the Hebrews Khanes, and by the Copts Hnes; the modern Henassieh or Ahnes el Medineh.

⁷ The two towns of Pafifi and Madenit are otherwise unknown to us. They must be sought for between Wady Natrun and Ahnes, but much nearer that town, probably at the entrance to the Fayum.

⁸ The course of the story gives us the reason for these preparations. Thotnakhuiti, in barring the path, hoped to force the peasant to take the upper side of the way close to the field. In passing, the ass might snatch some blades of wheat; Thotnakhuiti could then accuse the delinquent and confiscate the animal. At the present day, the proprietor of a field is satisfied with cutting off an ear of the donkey; but the case is known where, like the man in the story, he seized the animal.

⁹ The words *Iri haru*, translated "be so good," form a polite phrase by which the Egyptians called the attention of their comrades or of passers-by to any work they were engaged on, or any matter of general interest.

the ways with thy linen; wilt thou not permit me to pass?" While he was speaking these words one of the asses took a mouthful of stalks of wheat. This Thotnakhuiti said, "Behold thou, since thine ass eats my wheat, I shall put him to labor on account of his strength." This fellah said, "My ways are good. To avoid trespass I led my ass aside, and now thou dost seize him because he has taken a mouthful of stalks of wheat. But assuredly I know the owner of this domain, who is the High Steward, Rensi, son of Maru; it is he of a certainty who drives away all robbery in this Entire-Land,¹⁰ and shall I be robbed in his domain?" This Thotnakhuiti said, "Is not that a true proverb that men use, 'The name of the poor wretch is quoted on account of his master'? It is I who speak to thee, and it is of the Mayor of the Palace, Rensi, son of Maru, that thou thinkest."¹¹ He thereupon seized a green branch of tamarisk and with it he beat all his limbs, and he then took away his asses and led them into his domain. This fellah wept very loud for grief at that which was done to him, and this Thotnakhuiti said, "Do not raise thy voice, fellah, or thou shalt go to the city of the god, Lord of Silence."¹² This fellah said, "Thou hast beaten me, thou hast stolen my goods, and now thou wouldst take away lamentation from my mouth. Divine lord of silence, grant me my goods, in order that I may not call out thy fear."¹³

This fellah passed the whole of four days bewailing himself to Thotnakhuiti, but he did not lend him his face. When this fellah went to Khininnsuit in order to make complaint to

¹⁰ The Entire-Land is one of the names commonly given to Egypt by the Egyptians.

¹¹ The sentence quoted, translated literally, runs thus, "Is pronounced the name of the poor wretch for his master." From the context it seems to signify that he who considers he has a grievance against a subordinate is not satisfied with execrating him, but immediately attempts to appeal to his chief.

¹² The reply of Thotnakhuiti is an actual threat of death. The Lord of Silence is Osiris, god of the other world; his city is the tomb. Osiris, in this rôle, had as an equivalent in Thebes a goddess who bore the significant name of Maruitsakro, she who loves silence.

¹³ So far as I can see, this expression, too concise for us, seems as though it should be paraphrased, "for fear that I should go everywhere proclaiming that thou art a man to be feared."

the Mayor of the Palace, Rensi, son of Maru, he found him as he came out of the door of his house to enter the cange (Nile boat) of his office. This fellah said, "Oh, permit me to refresh thy heart with my discourse."¹⁴ It is an occasion to send me thy servant, the intimate one of thy heart, that I may send him back to thee instructed in my business." The Mayor of the Palace, Rensi, son of Maru, caused his servant to go, the intimate of his heart, the one first after himself, and this fellah sent him back, instructed in the whole of his business, such as it was. The Mayor of the Palace, Rensi, son of Maru, informed the burghers¹⁵ who were near to him of this Thotnakhuiti, and they said to their lord, "Verily, this comes from his peasant to whom another has come, for behold what they do to their peasants when others come to them, behold, this is just what they do. Is it worth while to prosecute this Thotnakhuiti for the matter of a little natron and a little salt? Let him be told to give it back, and he will give it back. The Mayor of the Palace, Rensi, son of Maru, kept silence; he did not reply to these burghers, he did not reply to this fellah.

When this fellah came to make his complaint for the first time before the High Steward, Rensi, son of Maru, he said: "Mayor of the Palace, my lord, great of the great, guide of that which is, and of that which is not, when thou descendest to the Pool of Justice¹⁶ and thou dost sail there with the right wind, may the sheet of thy sail not tear away, may thy skiff not drift away, may no ill happen to thy mast, may thy planks not be cut, mayest thou not be carried off, when thou dost arrive at the land; may the wave not seize thee, mayest

¹⁴ The beginning of the discourse recalls the formula by which a man of lower degree begins letters addressed to his superior.

¹⁵ Personages of high rank, royal functionaries, or administrators of nomes and villages had a certain number of burghers associated with them who assisted them in carrying out their functions.

¹⁶ The Pool of Justice is the name of one of the canals of the other world, and of the canal of this world that passed Khininnsuit. The fellah, playing on the double meaning of the expression, wishes a prosperous voyage for Rensi both on the terrestrial and the celestial waters. The remainder of this first appeal is not the logical development of this play on words nor of the metaphor on which it was founded.

thou not taste the shriekings of the river, mayest thou not behold the Terrible of Face (the crocodile), but may the most rebellious fish come to thee and mayest thou procure well-fatted birds. As it is thou who art the father of the weak, the husband of the widow, the brother of the divorced woman, the clothing of the motherless, cause that I may proclaim thy name in this country as the head of all good law. Guide without caprice, great without pettiness, thou who destroyest falsehood, and makest truth to be, come to the voice of my mouth. I speak; listen, do justice, praiseworthy, whom the most praiseworthy praise, destroy my woes; behold I am laden with grief, lo! I am in despair, judge me, for behold I am in great need."

Now this fellah said these words in the time of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Nabkauriya, true of voice. The Mayor of the Palace, Rensi, son of Maru, went before his Majesty, and he said, "My lord, I have met one of these fellahs, who are in truth fine speakers, whose goods have been stolen from him by a man who depends on me: behold he comes to make his complaint to me." The King said, "Maruitensi, if you desire to keep me contented, draw him out at full length; answer nothing at all to that he shall say. That which he shall please to say to thee, report it to us in writing that we may hear it. See to it that his wife and children live, send one of these fellahin to banish want from his house, and cause also that this peasant lives in his members, but when thou makest him a gift of bread see that he does not know it is thou who givest it." Four loaves and two jars of beer were served to him each day; the Mayor of the Palace, Rensi, son of Maru, supplied them, but he gave them to one of his clients, and it was he who gave them to the other. Behold, the Mayor of the Palace, Rensi, son of Maru, sent to the castellan of the Oasis of Salt, so that bread was made for the wife of the peasant in the proportion of three measures each day.

This fellah came to make his complaint for the second time, saying: "Mayor of the Palace, my lord, great of the great, rich of the rich, thou who art greater than thy great ones, and

richer than thy rich ones, rudder of heaven, supporter of the earth, cord that bears the heavy weights; rudder do not swerve,¹⁷ support do not bend, cord do not break away. For the great lord takes of her who has no lord,¹⁸ he despoils him who is alone. Thy allowance in thy house is a jug of beer and three loaves daily, and what dost thou give to feed thy clients? Who dies, does he die with his people? Art thou thyself eternal? In fact it is an evil, a balance that bends, a lever balance that loses its steadiness, a just integrity that deviates. Oh thou, if the justice that moves beneath thee remove from its place, if the burgher commit errors, if he who keeps count of the speeches spoken on both sides incline to one side, the menials steal. He who is commissioned to seize the faithless one who does not keep the word of the judge in strictness, himself wanders far from the word; he who ought to give the breath of life is without it on earth; he who is calm pants with wrath; he who divides into just portions is only a prepotent; he who represses the oppressor commands him to ill-use the city like an inundation; he who repels evil commits faults."

The Mayor of the Palace, Rensi, son of Maru, said, "Is it then so important a matter for thee and so close to thy heart that my servant¹⁹ should be seized?"

This fellah said: "When the measurer of grain takes by violence for himself, he causes another to lose his property. He who guides to the observance of the law, if he command that one shall rob, who then will repel crime? He who should crush error, if he himself wander from equity, has another the right to give way? If another is approved for misdeeds, how shalt thou find the means to subdue the misdeeds of others? When the wealthy man comes to the place

¹⁷ Literally, "rudder do not go behind." The rudder was a large oar, worked from fore to aft. If it were displaced by the current or by a mistake of the steersman, so that it turned from aft to fore, it would lose control of the ship's course; hence the metaphor in the text. "Swerve" is merely a more or less free translation.

¹⁸ The widow or the rejected woman who had no man to protect her.

¹⁹ The servant of whom Rensi, son of Maru, speaks is Thotnakhuiti, whose punishment is demanded by the fellah.

that he occupied yesterday, it is an order to do to others as they have caused to be done, to honor others for what they have done, it is to administer riches wisely instead of squandering them, it is to assign property to those who already possess wealth.²⁰ Oh the moment that destroys, when all shall be destroyed in thy vineyards, when thy poultry-yard shall be destroyed and thy water-fowl shall be decimated, when he who sees shall become blind, and he who hears becomes deaf, when he who leads the way shall become him who misleads! . . . Art thou indeed sound? Act for thyself, for thou art very powerful; thine arm is valiant, thy heart is bold, indulgence is far from thee, the prayer of the wretched is thy destruction, thou seemest the messenger of the crocodile-god. Thou art the traveling companion of the Lady of Pestilence: if thou art not, she is not; if she is not, thou art not; that which she does not do, thou dost not do.²¹ When a rich, strong man with lawful revenues is against a beggar, he who is firmly in possession of his spoils against one who has no possessions; if the beggar is despoiled of his property it is an evil business for him who is not deprived of all, he has no means of complaining of it, for he has sought it (his fate). But thou, thou art satiated with thy bread, thou art drunken with thy beer, thou art richer than all the living. When the face of the steersman is turned backward²² the boat wanders where it pleases.

²⁰ The jingle of words with which this sentence begins merely signifies that if a wealthy man is reinstated in the position he had vacated it is to encourage him to continue to act as well as he had done during his previous period of office. It is hoped, in fact, that being rich already, he will have no need to pillage the country to enrich himself, and that he will administer the public wealth honestly. Thus he considers that Rensi, honest himself, did not know how to insist on honesty in his subordinates, and would end by being their victim and coming to ruin, as is said in the sentence that follows.

²¹ The crocodile-god is either Sovku or Set-Typhon, and the lady of pestilence is Sokhit-Sakhmit. It is understood that the fellah points out to Rensi that he is powerful and should deal rigorously with those who commit injustice under his protection, after the fashion of those two divinities.

²² Instead of observing the river and the direction of the currents and wind.

When the king is in the harem, and the rudder of State is in thy hand, and there are abuses around thee, lamentation is abundant, ruin is heavy. 'What matter?' they say. Make places of refuge, for thy embankment is sound, and behold, thy city is well surrounded with walls;²³ thou whose tongue is right, do not err, for the worm, destroyer of man, 'is but his own members!'²⁴ Speak not falsehood, heed well the burghers, the vassals, and the servants, to speak lies is their hay (perquisite) and a tradition that is very near their hearts. Thou who knowest the property of all people, art thou ignorant of my fortune? Oh thou who reducest to naught all accident by water, I am here where there is no landing! Oh thou who ledest back to earth whosoever is drowning and who savest the shipwrecked, I am oppressed by order of thine."

This fellah came to make his complaint for the third time, saying: "Mayor of the Palace, my lord, thou art Re, lord of heaven, with thy court, and it is the interest of all the world. Thou art like a wave of inundation, thou art the Nile which makes the fields green, that seizes the isles and cultivated lands. Repress robbery, protect the wretched, be not as a flood to those who complain to thee, but beware that eternity approaches, and let it please thee that there be for thee that which is spoken, 'It is breath to the nose to do justice.'²⁵ Punish him who has punished, and that will not be placed to thy account. Does the spring bend, does the balance turn to one side, is not Thoth indulgent? If thou dost commit

²³ Rensi, son of Maru, in justice, desired that the poor should have an asylum in him against violence; the dike he had metaphorically constructed to oppose the torrent of injustice was in good condition, but is it possible that the man of righteous judgments should at last swerve and become an oppressor?

²⁴ The members of a great lord are his vassals and attendants, as the members of Re are the lesser gods; the great lord is destroyed by the faults of his members rather than by his own.

²⁵ Transcribed from Egyptian phraseology into modern expressions, this sentence signifies that to be just assures life in the presence of the king and the gods; to do to the evil-doer the same as he himself has done is not recorded as a crime on the part of those who administer the punishment.

errors, thou makest thyself equal with those three.²⁶ If those three are indulgent, be thou also indulgent and do not reward good as though it were evil, or put the last in the place of the first. The word grows more than living herbage, more than a smell; do not reply to it, for when the water comes that clothes the fields, let it do so. When thou art steering with the sail up, work with the current; in order to do this rightly, beware that thou manœuvrest well the tiller when thou art facing the land. Do not lie, thou art greatness; be not light, thou art weightiness; do not lie; thou art the steel-yard, do not lose equilibrium; thou art the accurate reckoning; oh thou, thou art in accord with the lever, so that if it yields thou also dost yield. Do not swerve when thou art steering, but manœuvre well the rope. Take nothing when thou shalt go against him who takes, for he is not a great one, that great one who is rapacious. Thy tongue is the spring of a balance and thy heart is the weight and thy two lips are its arms. If thou veilest thy face from him whose countenance is hard,²⁷ who then will subdue evil? Oh thou, thou art like a wicked rapacious launderer who treats a friend with harshness and rejects a client who is poor, but who holds as a brother him who comes and brings him what is due. Oh thou, thou art the ferryman who ferries him only who possesses the amount of the toll, and of whom the toll is the ruin of others. Oh thou, thou art the chief of the granary, who dost not permit him to go free who comes with empty hands. Oh thou, thou art for men a bird of prey who lives on the miserable little birds. Oh thou, thou art the cook whose joy it is to kill and from whom there is no escape. Oh thou, thou art the shepherd who troubles himself not at all; thou hast not reckoned how many of thy beasts thou dost lose by the crocodile, that violator of places of refuge, who attacks the district of the Entire-Land.²⁸ Oh, auditor who hast not

²⁶ Literally, "Thou art placed the second of these three"; in other words, "thou dost become a spring badly balanced, a false balance, a Thoth indulgent when he should not be."

²⁷ In other words, "If thou settlest thyself complacently so as not to see what the powerful do to the weak."

²⁸ The fellah here alludes to an incident of rural life that is often

heard, why wilt thou not hear, since here I have repelled a furious one with whom there is a crocodile? When shall that be done? He who hides the truth is always discovered, and the lie is hurled to the ground. Do not rely on the morrow which is not yet come; it is not known what ills there are in it."

After the fellah had made this oration to the Mayor of the Palace, Rensi, son of Maru, on the esplanade which is before the gate, he dispatched two men of his clan to him with kurbashes, and they beat all his limbs.

This fellah said: "The son of Maru, he deviates indeed; his face is blind to that which he sees, he is deaf to that which he hears, he passes regardless of that of which he is reminded. Oh thou, thou art like a city that has no commander, like a community that has no chief, like a boat that has no captain, like a caravan without a leader. Oh thou, thou art like a ghafir who steals, like a sheikh-el-Beled that takes, like the chief of a district appointed to punish brigandage, and who puts himself at the head of those who commit it."

When the peasant came to make his complaint for the fourth time, he found the Mayor of the Palace as he was coming out of the gate of the temple of Harshafi, and he said: "Oh, blessed one, mayest thou be the blessed of Harshafi, who comes from his temple, when good perishes and there is none to boast that he hath destroyed falsehood on the earth. And in truth the ferry-boat which you are made to enter and on which you cross the river, when the season of low water comes, to cross the river on foot, is it not a good way to cross? And who sleeps in full daylight? He destroys by that means, going in safety during the night, and traveling without danger by day, and the possibility that the individual may verily profit by his good fortune. Oh thou, one must not cease from telling thee if indulgence departs from thee, the prayer of

represented in tombs of the Memphite age—the crossing of a ford by a herd of cattle menaced by crocodiles; the careless herdsman, instead of watching over his animals, lets them go, and on coming out of the water does not trouble to find out whether the number of the cattle is still intact or whether the crocodiles have reduced it.

the wretched is thy destruction. Thou art like a huntsman, light of heart, bold to do that which pleases thee, to harpoon the hippopotamus, to transfix wild bulls with arrows, to strike fish with the bident,²⁹ to net birds. Oh thou who hast not the ready mouth, and who art without a flow of words, thou who hast not a light heart, but whose bosom is heavy with projects, apply thou thy heart to know the truth, subdue thy evil inclination until the silent one arrives.³⁰ Be not the unskilful inquisitor who destroys perfection, nor a rapid heart which fails when truth is brought to it, but cause that thy two eyes perceive, that thine heart is satisfied, and trouble not thyself doubting of thy power³¹ or fear that misfortune overtake thee; he who passes by his fortune without seizing it will be always in the second rank. The man who eats, tastes; he who is questioned, replies; he who is in bed, dreams; but make no opposition to the judge at the gate³² when he is at the head of the malefactors; for thanks to him if imbecile, thou dost prosper, if ignorant of everything, thou art consulted, if thou art like a flow of water that diverges, thou canst enter. Oh helmsman, misdirect not thy boat; thou who grantest life, cause not to die; thou who canst destroy, cause not that one should be destroyed. Luminous one, be not as a shadow; place of refuge, permit not the crocodile to carry off his victims, on account of thee. These four times I have lamented to thee: has not time enough been spent over that?"

This fellah went to make his complaint the fifth time, saying: "Mayor of the Palace, Rensi, son of Maru, my lord, the

²⁹ Only the fishermen by profession and the peasants fished with a line, an eel-pot, or a net; as one sees them on the pictures of the Theban and Memphite tombs, nobles caught fish with a single- or double-pronged harpoon. Fishing carried on thus required considerable strength and skill, comparable with hunting the hippopotamus.

³⁰ Here possibly the silent one is Osiris, god of the dead, or some other divinity.

³¹ Literally, "Do not trouble thyself on account of power." He who doubts his power, and fears he is not sufficiently strong, accomplishes nothing.

³² It must not be forgotten that in Egypt, as in the whole of the ancient East, the prince and notables administered justice at the gate of their house or of the city.

fisherman with the eel-pot cages his fish, the fisherman with the knife cuts the throat of the eel, the fisherman with the trident harpoons the *bayyads*, the fishermen with the sweep-nets take the *chals*,³³ in short the fishermen depopulate the river. Oh thou, thou art of their kind; do not ravish his property from a poor wretch, for thou knowest the weak. His goods are the vital air of the poor man, to ravish them from him is to stop up his nose. Thou hast been commissioned to listen to speech, to judge between two parties, to repress robbery; and lo! the malefactor is with thee, it is a heavy burden of robberies, which thou dost bear. One has made thee a favorite,³⁴ and thou art become a criminal; thou hast been given as a dike to the wretched to prevent his drowning, and lo! thou art a man similar to a pool that fills rapidly.”³⁵

This fellah came to make his complaint the sixth time, saying: “Mayor of the Palace, Rensi, son of Maru, my lord, silent lord,³⁶ who punishes lies and causes justice to be, makes good to be; destroys evil, as satiety that ends hunger, clothing that ends nakedness, as the sky clears after the north wind and its heat warms all those who were cold, as fire cooks what is raw, as water quenches thirst. Oh thou who beholdest, do not turn away thy face; thou who dost distribute equitably, be not rapacious;³⁷ thou who consolest, do not cause rancor; thou who healest, do not cause maladies; for the delinquent diminishes truth; he who well fulfils his duties does not injure, does not overpower truth. If thou hast revenues,

³³ The names of fish given here are all uncertain equivalents of the Egyptian names, of which we do not know the exact value; the *bayyad* and the *chal* are two Nile fish that are excellent to eat, especially the first.

³⁴ “One” here means Pharaoh who has Rensi, son of Maru, for his mayor of the palace.

³⁵ The water in consequence washes away the dike, ruining the field that the dike was intended to protect.

³⁶ Rensi is called son of Maru, “silent lord,” because he does not reply to the lamentations of the fellah.

³⁷ Rensi being just, divides the goods of his subordinates exactly into two halves, and only takes the moiety due to him. The fellah implores him not to show himself rapacious and not to keep the whole.

give of them to thy brother, that he may share them without legal proceedings brought against him, for he who has rancor is a guide to discord, and he who relates his griefs in a whisper leads to schisms, without its having been known what was in his heart.³⁸ Therefore be not inactive in proclaiming thy intention; for who restrains the emission of water? Lo, the water-gates are open, the water must flow; if the bark enter therein it is seized by the current, its cargo perishes on the ground, scattered on all the banks.³⁹ Thou art instructed, thou art well set up, thou art established solidly and not by violence; but while thou dost establish regulations for all men, those that are about thee wander from the straight road. Equitable at times and culpable toward the Entire-Land, gardener of misery, who irrigates his land with villainies that his land may become a land of falsehood, to disseminate crimes on the soil."

This fellah went to make his complaint for the seventh time, saying: "Mayor of the Palace, my lord, thou art the rudder of the Entire-Land, who navigates the world at thy pleasure; thou art the second Thoth,⁴⁰ who when he judges inclines not to one side. Oh my lord, may it please thee to permit

³⁸ The comparison here is between gain acquired by illegal means, and legitimate gains, those which are brought — *anu* — to the owner, or which the owner himself procures. The fellah counsels Rensi to give "his brother," that is to say his neighbor, that which he procures from his domains, part of his legitimate revenues, because to keep them for himself, to eat them — *uagait* — as the text says is incorrect, inappropriate, impolitic; the poor man to whom nothing is given becomes rancorous — *ahu* — and he "leads to separate," he conduces to discord, and he who tells his woes in a whisper, "he who makes known" — *sarkhi* — causes schisms without his sentiments being suspected.

³⁹ The sequence of ideas is not easy to follow; but may be read: After having pointed out how dangerous it is for a man in the position of Rensi to arouse concealed rancor, the fellah, reverting to his own business, implores him to repress injustice. If he wished to do so, who would dare to resist him openly? His action would be like that of a current of water formed by a breach in a dike, when the inundation is at its height; boats caught in the current are wrecked and their crews scattered along the banks.

⁴⁰ Literally, "Thou art the second of Thoth," or perhaps "Thou art the brother of Thoth," the god who acts the part of scribe at the judgment of souls.

an individual to appeal at the tribunal for the rights to which he is entitled. Restrain not thy heart; it is not in thy nature that from greatness of spirit thou shouldst become narrow of heart.⁴¹ Be not preoccupied with that which does not yet happen, and rejoice not at that which has not yet come. As the impartial man is great in friendship, he regards as nothing the deed that is done by one who knew not what was the intention at the bottom of his heart.⁴² He who diminishes the law, and destroys the reckoning of human actions, he is a miserable wretch who lives when he has robbed, and truth no longer answers him.⁴³ But my bosom is full, my heart is charged, and that which issues from my bosom in consequence is like the breaking of a dike from which water flows; my mouth opens to speech, I have striven to stop up my breach, I have thrown out my current, I have cast forth that which was in my bosom, I have washed my rags, my speech has come forth, and my misery is complete before thee. What is thy final opinion? Thy inertia will injure thee, thy rapacity will render thee imbecile, thy avidity will make thee enemies. But where wilt thou find another fellow such as I? Would he not be an idler who, bringing his complaint, should stand at the door of his house? There will be no silent one whom thou hast made to speak, there will be no slumberer whom thou hast awakened, there will be no timid one whom thou hast made bold, there will be no dumb man whose mouth thou hast opened, there will be no ignorant one whom thou hast changed to a learned one, there will be no stupid one whom thou hast instructed. These are destroyers of evil, the notables who surround thee, these are lords of good, these are artisans who produce all that exists, replacers of severed heads."

⁴¹ Literally, "It is not to thee that, to become the wide of face, a narrow of heart."

⁴² Literally, "Being the impartial, he makes himself wide in friendship, he destroys action which is produced, it not being known that which was in the heart."

⁴³ The virtues we regard as abstractions—truth and justice—were goddesses of the Egyptians; and it is therefore not surprising to find that the terms applied to them are those employed for living people. We should say here, "Truth is no longer known to him."

This fellow came to make his complaint for the eighth time, saying: "Mayor of the Palace, my lord, since one falls by deeds of violence, since rapacity has no fortune or, rather, that its fortune is useless, since thou art violent when it is not thy nature to be so, and since thou robbest when it is useless to thee, leave people in possession of their good fortune. Thou hast what is needful for thee in thy house, thy belly is full, but the shock of wheat overflows, and that which comes out of it perishes on the soil, for the notables pillage, ravishing by force; they who are set to repulse crime, and who are the protection of the persecuted, the cruel ones who are set to repulse falsehood. Fear of thee has prevented me from supplicating thee rightly, and thou hadst not understood my heart. Oh, silent one, he who turns to make his objurgations to thee, he fears not to present them, and it is not his brother who brings them to thee in thy private dwelling. Thou hast portions of land in the country, thou hast revenues in the town, thou hast thy bread at the storehouses,⁴⁴ the notables bring thee gifts, and thou takest more. Art thou not a robber, because when one presents himself with his rent for thee there are pillagers with thee to deduct half of the rentage-in-kind of the lands?⁴⁵ Do truth to the lord of truth, whose truth is the real truth.⁴⁶ Thou the calamus, the papyrus roll, the palette, the god Thoth, beware of making errors of justice; good, be good, truly good, be good! because truth is for eternity, it descends into Hades with him who practises it. When he has been placed in the coffin and laid in the ground, his name has not been effaced from the earth, and he is

⁴⁴ The word *faqau* designates the revenues drawn by Rensi from his city property, houses, shops, or factories: *aqau*, literally "loaves," includes in itself the emoluments in kind that he received from the royal storehouses as a State official.

⁴⁵ Literally, "for the halves of the rented lands." It seems, according to the custom of Ancient Egypt, that the State, the towns, or the wealthy proprietors rented the lands belonging to them to the peasants for a rental of half the products of the soil.

⁴⁶ The lord of truth or of justice is Thoth; the truth of the lord of truth is verity and justice, such as Thoth exercises, and "the truth of truth" and "the justice of justice" we should call the "quintessence" of truth and justice.

remembered for his goodness, in consequence of the word of the god.⁴⁷ It is in truth that the lever has not bent, the balance has not inclined to one side. And yet when I come to thee, when another comes, do not answer as if it were a silent one whom thou dost answer, do not attack one who does not attack thee, for thou hast not been injured, thou hast not suffered, thou hast not fled, thou hast not suppressed evil, thou hast not shown on my behalf the conduct that corresponds with that excellent saying that issued from the mouth of Re himself:⁴⁸ 'Speak the truth, do the truth, do that which conforms to truth, because truth is powerful, because it is great, because it is lasting, and when its parts are found it leads to a blessed state of existence.' If the balance bend not, if its scales carry objects at the same level, the results of the true reckoning will not be felt against me. Shame will not come behind me in the city and will not land."

This fellah came to make his complaint for the ninth time, saying, "Mayor of the Palace, my lord, the balance of people is their tongue, and it is the balance that verifies reckonings.⁴⁹ When therefore thou dost punish those who have done wrong the reckoning is audited in thy favor.⁵⁰ On the contrary, he who makes a compact with falsehood, his portion henceforth is that truth turns away from him, for then his good is falsehood, and truth does not concern itself for him."⁵¹ But when

⁴⁷ Literally, "reckoning of the speech of the god." Thoth, scribe of the Osirian tribunal, noted down the indications of the balance at the weighing of deeds, and proclaimed the result in a speech; according to his report the dead man was either admitted to Paradise or excluded, and his name remained either of good or evil savor on earth.

⁴⁸ Literally, "Thou hast not given me the equivalents of that saying." The peasant wished by this to say that Rensi had not acted toward him as he would have done had he taken into consideration the aphorism placed by tradition in the mouth of Re.

⁴⁹ It is by their tongue that the value of men is judged, and, on the other hand, it is by weighing their words that one ascertains whether the judgment that has been formed of them is correct.

⁵⁰ Literally, "the reckoning is equalized to thee." In other words, at the judgment of the dead the punishment inflicted by Rensi on a criminal will not be imputed to him as a sin, or rather it will not appear in the list of evil actions.

⁵¹ The beginning of this sentence translates literally, "His portion

the lie goes out it loses its way; it does not cross the water in the ferry-boat; it is not received.⁵² If he be wealthy he has no children; he has no posterity on earth.⁵³ If he travels he does not reach the land, and his boat does not come into port at his city.⁵⁴ Therefore do not make thyself heavy, for already thou art no small weight; do not rush, for already thou art not light in running; do not cry aloud, be not an egoist,⁵⁵ veil not thy face from that thou knowest, close not thine eyes to that thou hast seen, turn not away from him who begs of thee. If thou fallest into idleness, use is made of thy conduct against thee.⁵⁶ Act therefore against him who has acted against thee. Harken not to every one, but sentence a man only for the deed that he has verily committed. There is no yesterday for the idle; there is no friend for him who is deaf to the truth; there is no happiness for the violent. On the other hand, he who protests becomes wretched, and the wretched man passes into a condition of perpetual plaintiff, and the plaintiff is slain. Oh thou, I have made complaint to thee, and thou hast not listened to my pleading; I go to complain of thee to Anubis.”⁵⁷

becomes that truth turns away in front of him.” The end of it is difficult to read, and, while the general meaning has been given, no attempt is made here of supplying an exact translation.

⁵² This, it is believed, is an allusion to the ferry-boat which carried over the doubles from this world to the domain of Osiris. He who does not exercise justice and truth will not be admitted, after death, to dwell with the god.

⁵³ Having no posterity, no one will trouble to perform the funerary cult for him; his soul will be consigned to oblivion, and will in consequence cease to exist.

⁵⁴ The term *saqdudu*, here employed for navigation, is that applied to the journey of the Sun round the world during the day and night; the dead man will not be admitted to follow the god, and his boat will perish before arriving at the celestial port where he desires to land.

⁵⁵ Literally, “do not listen to thy heart.” “To listen to the heart” both in Coptic and in the ancient language means “to obey”; here we must give it a slightly different meaning — “to listen to oneself, to listen only to oneself, to be egoistic.”

⁵⁶ Literally, “If thou fallest into idleness, report is made of thy concept, of thy conduct.”

⁵⁷ As Vogelsang has truly observed, the fellah in desperation now thinks of carrying his appeal into the other world, to the gods of the dead. Can this mean that he will kill himself? The word *samamu*

The Mayor of the Palace, Rensi, son of Maru, sent two men of his clan to cause the fellah to return. This fellah therefore feared that the Mayor did thus in order to punish him for this speech he had made, and this fellah said: "To repel the thirsty from the water, to remove the mouth of the babe from the milk, to intercept him who wishes to see him, the god, all that causes his death to come to him slowly . . ." ⁵⁸ The Mayor of the Palace, Rensi, son of Maru, said: "Fear nothing, fellah. I will act toward thee as thou dost act toward me." This fellah said: "Oh that I might live, eating thy bread and drinking thy beer, eternally!" The Mayor of the Palace, Rensi, son of Maru, said: "Come then, that thou mayest hear thy complaints." He then caused to be set down on a sheet of new papyrus all the lamentations of the fellah unto this day. The Mayor of the Palace, Rensi, son of Maru, sent them to his Majesty the King of the two Egypts, Nabkauriya, true of voice, and this was agreeable to him more than all things that are in this Entire-Land, and his Majesty said: "Judge for thyself, son of Maru." The Mayor of the Palace, Rensi, son of Maru, forthwith commanded two men of his clan to fetch the clerk of the records, and he sent a message to the Natron Oasis, that his people to the number of six should be brought to him, over and above the slaves he possessed already, with corn of the south, durah, asses, with good things of all sorts. He commanded Thot-nakhuiti to restore to this peasant his asses with all his goods that he had taken from him. . . .

employed above applies rather to assassination or execution. The fellah evidently fears that Rensi, annoyed and wearied with his appeals, will rid himself of him by one or other of these methods.

⁵⁸ From here on, the ending of the tale is imperfect.

THE SHIPWRECKED SAILOR¹

The wise servant said, "Let thy heart be satisfied, O my lord, for that we have come back to the country; after we have long been on board, and rowed much, the prow has at last touched land. All the people rejoice, and embrace us one after another. Moreover, we have come back in good health, and not a man is lacking; although we have been to the ends of Wawat, and gone through the land of Senmut, we have returned in peace, and our land — behold, we have come back to it. Hear me, my lord; I have no other refuge. Wash thee, and turn the water over thy fingers; then go and tell the tale to the Majesty."

His lord replied, "Thy heart continues still its wandering words! but although the mouth of a man may save him, his words may also cover his face with confusion. Wilt thou do then as thy heart moves thee? This that thou wilt say, tell quietly."

The sailor then answered: "Now I shall tell that which has happened to me, to my very self. I was going to the mines of Pharaoh, and I went down on the sea on a ship of one hundred and fifty cubits long and forty cubits wide, with one hundred and fifty sailors of the best of Egypt, who had seen heaven and earth, and whose hearts were stronger than lions. They had said that the wind would not be contrary, or that there would be none. But as we approached the land the wind arose, and threw up waves eight cubits high. As for me, I seized a piece of wood; but those who were in the vessel perished, without one remaining. A wave threw me on an island, after that I had been three days alone, without a companion beside my own heart. I laid me in a thicket, and the shadow covered me. Then stretched I my limbs to try to find something for my mouth. I found there figs

¹ From the translation of Prof. Flinders-Petrie.

and grapes, all manner of good herbs, berries, and grain, melons of all kinds, fishes, and birds. Nothing was lacking. And I satisfied myself; and left on the ground that which was over, of what my arms had been filled withal. I dug a pit, I lighted a fire, and I made a burnt offering unto the gods.

“Suddenly I heard a noise as of thunder, which I thought to be that of a wave of the sea. The trees shook, and the earth was moved. I uncovered my face, and I saw that a serpent drew near. He was thirty cubits long, and his beard greater than two cubits; his body was as overlaid with gold, and his color as that of true lazuli. He coiled himself before me.

“Then he opened his mouth, while that I lay on my face before him, and he said to me, ‘What has brought thee, what has brought thee, little one, what has brought thee? If thou sayest not speedily what has brought thee to this isle, I will make thee know thyself; as a flame thou shalt vanish, if thou tellest me not something I have not heard, or which I knew not, before thee.’

“Then he took me in his mouth and carried me to his resting-place, and laid me down without any hurt. I was whole and sound, and nothing was gone from me. Then he opened his mouth against me, while that I lay on my face before him, and he said, ‘What has brought thee, what has brought thee, little one, what has brought thee to this isle which is in the sea, and of which the shores are in the midst of the waves?’

“Then I replied to him, and holding my arms low before him, I said to him, ‘I was embarked for the mines by the order of the Majesty, in a ship, one hundred and fifty cubits was its length and the width of it forty cubits. It had one hundred and fifty sailors of the best of Egypt, who had seen heaven and earth, and the hearts of whom were stronger than lions. They said that the wind would not be contrary, or that there would be none. Each of them exceeded his companion in the prudence of his heart and the strength of his arm, and I was not beneath any of them. A storm came upon us while we were on the sea. Hardly could we reach to the shore when the wind waxed yet greater, and the waves rose even eight

cubits. As for me, I seized a piece of wood, while those who were in the boat perished without one being left with me for three days. Behold me now before thee, for I was brought to this isle by a wave of the sea.'

"Then said he to me, 'Fear not, fear not, little one, and make not thy face sad. If thou hast come to me, it is God who has let thee live. For it is he who has brought thee to this isle of the blest, where nothing is lacking, and which is filled with all good things. See now, thou shalt pass one month after another, until thou shalt be four months in this isle. Then a ship shall come from thy land with sailors, and thou shalt leave with them and go to thy country, and thou shalt die in thy town.

" 'Converse is pleasing, and he who tastes of it passes over his misery. I will therefore tell thee of that which is in this isle. I am here with my brethren and my children around me; we are seventy-five serpents, children, and kindred; without naming a young girl who was brought unto me by chance, and on whom the fire of heaven fell, and burnt her to ashes.

" 'As for thee, if thou art strong, and if thy heart waits patiently, thou shalt press thy infants to thy bosom and embrace thy wife. Thou shalt return to thy house which is full of all good things, thou shalt see thy land, where thou shalt dwell in the midst of thy kindred.'

"Then I bowed, in my obeisance, and I touched the ground before him. 'Behold now that which I have told thee before. I shall tell of thy presence unto Pharaoh, I shall make him to know of thy greatness, and I will bring to thee of the sacred oils and perfumes, and of incense of the temples with which all gods are honored. I shall tell, moreover, of that which I do now see (thanks to him), and there shall be rendered to thee praises before the fulness of all the land. I shall slay asses for thee in sacrifice, I shall pluck for thee the birds, and I shall bring for thee ships full of all kinds of the treasures of Egypt, as is comely to do unto a god, a friend of men in a far country, of which men know not.'

"Then he smiled at my speech, because of that which was in his heart, for he said to me, 'Thou art not rich in per-

fumes, for all that thou hast is but common incense. As for me I am prince of the land of Punt, and I have perfumes. Only the oil which thou sayedst thou wouldest bring is not common in this isle. But, when thou shalt depart from this place, thou shalt never more see this isle; it shall be changed into waves.'

"And behold, when the ship drew near, according to all that he had told me before, I got me up into a high tree, to strive to see those who were within it. Then I came and told to him this matter; but it was already known unto him before. Then he said to me. 'Farewell, farewell, go to thy house, little one, see again thy children, and let thy name be good in thy town; these are my wishes for thee.'

"Then I bowed myself before him, and held my arms low before him, and he, he gave me gifts of precious perfumes, of cassia, of sweet woods, of kohl, of cypress, an abundance of incense, of ivory tusks, of baboons, of apes, and all kinds of precious things. I embarked all in the ship which was come, and bowing myself, I prayed God for him.

"Then he said to me, 'Behold thou shalt come to thy country in two months, thou shalt press to thy bosom thy children, and thou shalt rest in thy tomb.' After this I went down to the shore unto the ship, and I called to the sailors who were there. Then on the shore I rendered adoration to the master of this isle and to those who dwelt therein.

"When we shall come, in our return, to the house of Pharaoh, in the second month, according to all that the serpent has said, we shall approach unto the palace. And I shall go in before Pharaoh, I shall bring the gifts which I have brought from this isle into the country. Then he shall thank me before the fulness of all the land. Grant then unto me a follower, and lead me to the courtiers of the King. Cast thy eye upon me, after that I am come to land again, after that I have both seen and proved this. Hear my prayer, for it is good to listen to people. It was said unto me, 'Become a wise man, and thou shalt come to honor,' and behold I have become such."

This is finished from its beginning unto its end, even as it

was found in a writing. It is written by the scribe of cunning fingers Amenī-amen-aa; may he live in life, wealth, and health! ²

² This tale is only known in one copy, preserved in the Hermitage collection at Petrograd. Two translations of it have appeared by M. Golénischeff: from these a modified translation is given by Maspero in the "*Contes Populaires*," and the later translation is in M. Golénischeff's excellent "*Inventaire de la collection Egyptienne (Ermitage Impérial)*."

The tale is that of a returned sailor, speaking to his superior and telling his adventures, to induce him to send him on with an introduction to the King. At first his master professes to disbelieve him, and then the sailor protests that this happened to himself, and gives his narrative. The idea of an enchanted island, which has risen from the waves and will sink again, is here found to be one of the oldest plots for a tale of marvels. But the construction is far more advanced than that of the Tales of the Magicians. The family of serpents and the manner of the great serpent are well conceived, and there are many fine touches of literary quality: such as noise as of thunder, the trees shaking, and the earth being moved at the appearance of the great serpent—the speeches of the serpent and his threat—the sailors who had seen heaven and earth—the contempt of the serpent for his offerings, "As for me, I am prince of the land of Punt, and I have perfumes"—and the scene of departure. All of these points show a firm hand and practised taste, although there is still a style of simplicity clinging to it which agrees well to its date in the Twelfth Dynasty.

The great serpent is not of a type usual in Egyptian designs. The human-headed uræus is seldom bearded; and the best example of such a monster is on an Ethiopian temple, where a great uræus has human arms and a lion's head. The colors again repeat the favorite combination expressive of splendor—gold and lazuli. Though lazuli is very rare in early times, yet it certainly was known in the Twelfth Dynasty, as shown by the forms of some beads of lazuli.

MEMOIRS OF SINUHIT ¹

The hereditary prince, royal sealbearer, confidential friend, judge, keeper of the gate of the foreigners, true and beloved royal acquaintance, the royal follower Sinuhit says:

I attended my lord as a follower of the King, of the house of the hereditary princess, the greatly favored, the royal wife, Ankhet-Useratesen, who shares the dwelling of the royal son Amenemhet in Kanefer.

In the thirtieth year, the month Paophi, the seventh day the god entered his horizon, the king Sehotepabra ² flew up to heaven and joined the sun's disk, the follower of the god met his maker. The palace was silenced, and in mourning, the great gates were closed, the courtiers crouching on the ground, the people in hushed mourning.

His Majesty had sent a great army with the nobles to the land of the Temehu (Lybia), his son and heir, the good god King Sesostris as their leader. Now he was returning, and had brought away living captives and all kinds of cattle without end. The councilors of the palace had sent to the West to let the King know the matter that had come to pass in the inner hall. The messenger was to meet him on the road, and reach him at the time of evening: the matter was urgent. "A hawk had soared with his followers." Thus said he, not to let the army know of it. Even if the royal sons who commanded in that army send a message, he was not to speak to a single one of them. But I was standing near, and heard his voice while he was speaking. I fled far away, my heart beating, my arms failing; trembling had fallen on all my limbs. I turned about in running to seek a place to hide me, and I threw myself between two bushes, to wait while they should pass by. Then I turned me toward the south, not from wishing to come into this palace — for I knew not if

¹ From the translation of Prof. Flinders-Petrie.

² This is King Amenemhet I.

war was declared — nor even thinking a wish to live after this sovereign, I turned my back to the sycamore, I reached Shi-Seneferu, and rested on the open field. In the morning I went on and overtook a man, who passed by the edge of the road. He asked of me mercy, for he feared me. By the evening I drew near to Kher-ahau (old Cairo), and I crossed the river on a raft without a rudder. Carried over by the west wind, I passed over to the east to the quarries of Aku and the land of the goddess Herit, mistress of the red mountain (Gebel Ahmar). Then I fled on foot, northward, and reached the walls of the prince, built to repel the Sati. I crouched in a bush for fear of being seen by the guards, changed each day, who watch on the top of the fortress. I took my way by night, and at the lighting of the day I reached Peten, and turned me toward the valley of Kemur. Then thirst hastened me on; I dried up, and my throat narrowed, and I said, "This is the taste of death." When I lifted up my heart and gathered strength, I heard a voice and the lowing of cattle. I saw men of the Sati, and one of them — a friend unto Egypt — knew me. Behold he gave me water and boiled me milk, and I went with him to his camp; they did me good, and one tribe passed me on to another. I passed on to Sun, and reached the land of Adim (Edom).

When I had dwelt there half a year Amu-an-shi — who is the prince of the Upper Tenu — sent for me and said: "Dwell thou with me that thou mayest hear the speech of Egypt." He said thus for that he knew of my excellence, and had heard tell of my worth, for men of Egypt who were there with him bore witness of me. Behold he said to me: "For what cause hast thou come hither? Has a matter come to pass in the palace? Has the King of the two lands, Sehetepabra gone to heaven? That which has happened about this is not known." But I answered with concealment, and said: "When I came from the land of the Tamahu, and my desires were there changed in me, if I fled away it was not by reason of remorse that I took the way of a fugitive; I have not failed in my duty, my mouth has not said any bitter words, I have not heard any evil counsel, my name has not

come into the mouth of a magistrate. I know not by what I have been led into this land." And Amu-an-shi said: "This is by the will of the god (King of Egypt), for what is a land like if it know not that excellent god, of whom the dread is upon the lands of strangers, as they dread Sekhet in a year of pestilence?" I spake to him, and replied: "Forgive me, his son now enters the palace, and has received the heritage of his father. He is a god who has none like him, and there is none before him. He is a master of wisdom, prudent in his designs, excellent in his decrees, with goodwill to him who goes or who comes; he subdued the land of strangers while his father yet lived in his palace, and he rendered account of that which his father destined him to perform. He is a brave man, who verily strikes with his sword; a valiant one, who has not his equal; he springs upon the barbarians, and throws himself on the spoilers; he breaks the horns and weakens the hands, and those whom he smites can not raise the buckler. He is fearless, and dashes the heads, and none can stand before him. He is swift of foot, to destroy him who flies; and none who flees from him reaches his home. His heart is strong in his time; he is a lion who strikes with the claw, and never has he turned his back. His heart is closed to pity; and when he sees multitudes, he leaves none to live behind him. He is a valiant one who springs in front when he sees resistance; he is a warrior who rejoices when he flies on the barbarians. He seizes the buckler, he rushes forward, he never needs to strike again, he slays and none can turn his lance; and when he takes the bow the barbarians flee from his arms like dogs; for the great goddess has given to him to strike those who know her not; and if he reaches forth he spares none, and leaves naught behind. He is a friend of great sweetness, who knows how to gain love; his land loves him more than itself, and rejoices in him more than in its own god; men and women run to his call. A king, he has ruled from his birth; he, from his birth, has increased births, a sole being, a divine essence, by whom this land rejoices to be governed. He enlarges the borders of the South, but he covets not the lands of the North: he does

not smite the Sati, nor crush the Nemaushau. If he descends here, let him know thy name, by the homage which thou wilt pay to his Majesty. For he refuses not to bless the land which obeys him."

And he replied to me: "Egypt is indeed happy and well settled; behold thou art far from it, but whilst thou art with me I will do good unto thee." And he placed me before his children, he married his eldest daughter to me, and gave me the choice of all his land, even among the best of that which he had on the border of the next land. It is a goodly land: Iaa is its name. There are figs and grapes; there is wine commoner than water; abundant is the honey, many are its olives; and all fruits are upon its trees; there are barley and wheat, and cattle of kinds without end. This was truly a great thing that he granted me, when the prince came to invest me, and establish me as prince of a tribe in the best of his land. I had my continual portion of bread and of wine each day, of cooked meat, of roasted fowl, as well as the wild game which I took, or which was brought to me, besides what my dogs captured. They made me much butter, and prepared milk of all kinds. I passed many years, the children that I had became great, each ruling his tribe. When a messenger went or came to the palace he turned aside from the way to come to me; for I helped every man. I gave water to the thirsty, I set on his way him who went astray, and I rescued the robbed. The Sati who went far, to strike and turn back the princes of other lands, I ordained their goings; for the Prince of the Tenu for many years appointed me to be general of his soldiers. In every land which I attacked I played the champion, I took the cattle, I led away the vassals, I carried off the slaves, I slew the people, by my sword, my bow, my marches, and my good devices. I was excellent to the heart of my prince; he loved me when he knew my power, and set me over his children when he saw the strength of my arms.

A champion of the Tenu came to defy me in my tent: a bold man without equal, for he had vanquished the whole country. He said, "Let Sinuhit fight with me"; for he

desired to overthrow me, he thought to take my cattle for his tribe. The prince counseled with me. I said: "I know him not. I certainly am not of his degree, I hold me far from his place. Have I ever opened his door, or leaped his fence? It is some envious jealousy from seeing me; does he think that I am like some steer among the cows, whom the bull overthrows? If this is a wretch who thinks to enrich himself at my cost, not a Bedawi and a Bedawi fit for fight, then let us put the matter to judgment. Verily a true bull loves battle, but a vainglorious bull turns his back for fear of contest; if he has a heart for combat, let him speak what he pleases. Will God forget what he has ordained, and how shall that be known?" I lay down; and when I had rested I strung my bow, I made ready my arrows, I loosened my poniard, I furbished my arms. At dawn the land of the Tenu came together; it had gathered its tribes and called all the neighboring people, it spake of nothing but the fight. Each heart burned for me, men and women crying out; for each heart was troubled for me, and they said: "Is there another strong one who would fight with him? Behold the adversary has a buckler, a battle-ax, and an armful of javelins." Then I drew him to the attack; I turned aside his arrows, and they struck the ground in vain. One drew near to the other, and he fell on me, and then I shot him. My arrow fastened in his neck, he cried out, and fell on his face: I drove his lance into him, and raised my shout of victory on his back. Whilst all the men of the land rejoiced, I, and his vassals whom he had oppressed, gave thanks unto Mentu. This prince, Amu-an-shi, embraced me. Then I carried off his goods and took his cattle, that which he had wished to do to me, I did even so unto him; I seized that which was in his tent, I spoiled his dwelling. As time went on I increased the richness of my treasures and the number of my cattle.

PETITION TO THE KING OF EGYPT

"Now behold what the god has done for me who trusted in him. Having once fled away, yet now there is a witness of me in the palace. Once having fled away, as a fugitive, now

all in the palace give unto me a good name. After that I had been dying of hunger, now I give bread to those around. I had left my land naked, and now I am clothed in fine linen. After having been a wanderer without followers, now I possess many serfs. My house is fine, my land wide, my memory is established in the temple of all the gods. And let this flight obtain thy forgiveness; that I may be appointed in the palace; that I may see the place where my heart dwells. How great a thing is it that my body should be embalmed in the land where I was born! To return there is happiness. I have made offering to God to grant me this thing. His heart suffers who has run away unto a strange land. Let him hear the prayer of him who is afar off, that he may revisit the place of his birth, and the place from which he removed.

“May the King of Egypt be gracious to me that I may live of his favor. And I render my homage to the mistress of the land, who is in his palace; may I hear the news of her children. Thus will my limbs grow young again. Now old age comes, feebleness seizes me, my eyes are heavy, my arms are feeble, my legs will not move, my heart is slow. Death draws nigh to me, soon shall they lead me to the city of eternity. Let me follow the mistress of all (the Queen, his former mistress); lo! let her tell me the excellencies of her children; may she bring eternity to me.”

Then the Majesty of King Kheper-ka-re,³ the blessed, spake upon this my desire that I had made to him. His Majesty sent unto me with presents from the King, that he might enlarge the heart of his servant, like unto the province of any strange land; and the royal sons who are in the palace addressed themselves unto me.

COPY OF THE DECREE WHICH WAS BROUGHT — TO ME WHO
SPEAK TO YOU — TO LEAD ME BACK INTO EGYPT

“The Horus, life of births, lord of the crowns, life of births, King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Kheper-ka-re, son of the Sun, Amenemhet, ever living unto eternity. Order

³ The religious name of Sesostris I.

for the follower Sinuhit. Behold this order of the King is sent to thee to instruct thee of his will.

“Now, although thou hast gone through strange lands from Adim to Tenu, and passed from one country to another at the wish of thy heart — behold, what hast thou done, or what has been done against thee, that is amiss? Moreover, thou reviledst not; but if thy word was denied, thou didst not speak again in the assembly of the nobles, even if thou wast desired. Now, therefore, that thou hast thought on this matter which has come to thy mind, let thy heart not change again; for this thy Heaven (Queen), who is in the palace, is fixed, she is flourishing, she is enjoying the best in the kingdom of the land, and her children are in the chambers of the palace.

“Leave all the riches that thou hast, and that are with thee, altogether. When thou shalt come into Egypt behold the palace, and when thou shalt enter the palace bow thy face to the ground before the Great House; thou shalt be chief among the companions. And day by day behold thou growest old; thy vigor is lost, and thou thinkest on the day of burial. Thou shalt see thyself come to the blessed state, they shall give thee the bandages from the hand of Tait, the night of applying the oil of embalming. They shall follow thy funeral, and visit the tomb on the day of burial, which shall be in a gilded case, the head painted with blue, a canopy of cypress wood above thee, and oxen shall draw thee, the singers going before thee, and they shall dance the funeral dance. The weepers crouching at the door of thy tomb shall cry aloud the prayers for offerings: they shall slay victims for thee at the door of thy pit; and thy pyramid shall be carved in white stone, in the company of the royal children. Thus thou shalt not die in a strange land, nor be buried by the Amu; thou shalt not be laid in a sheepskin when thou art buried; all people shall beat the earth, and lament on thy body when thou goest to the tomb.”

When this order came to me, I was in the midst of my tribe. When it was read unto me, I threw me on the dust, I threw



KHEPERA. THE BEETLE-GOD OF RESURRECTION AND NEW LIFE, THE
SUN-GOD RE WHEN CONCEIVED AS THE CREATOR

dust in my hair; I went around my tent rejoicing, and saying: "How may it be that such a thing is done to the servant, who with a rebellious heart has fled to strange lands? Now with an excellent deliverance, and mercy delivered me from death, thou shalt cause me to end my days in the palace."

COPY OF THE ANSWER TO THIS ORDER

"The follower Sinuhit says: In excellent peace above everything consider of this flight that he made here in his ignorance; Thou, the Good God, Lord of both Lands, Loved of Re, Favorite of Mentu, the lord of Thebes, and of Amen, lord of thrones of the lands, of Sebek, Re, Horus, Hathor, Atmu, and of his fellow-gods, of Sopdu, Neferbiu, Samsetu, Horus, lord of the east, and of the royal uraeus which rules on thy head, of the chief gods of the waters, of Min, Horus of the desert, Urrit, mistress of Punt, Nut, Harnekht, Re, all the gods of the land of Egypt and of the isles of the sea. May they give life and peace to thy nostril, may they load thee with their gifts, may they give to thee eternity without end, everlastingness without bound. May the fear of thee be doubled in the lands of the deserts. Mayest thou subdue the circuit of the sun's disk. This is the prayer to his master of the humble servant who is saved from a foreign land.

"O wise King, the wise words which are pronounced in the wisdom of the Majesty of the sovereign, thy humble servant fears to tell. It is a great thing to repeat. O great God, like unto Re in fulfilling that to which he has set his hand, what am I that he should take thought for me? Am I among those whom he regards, and for whom he arranges? Thy Majesty is as Horus, and the strength of thine arms extends to all lands.

"Then let his Majesty bring Maki of Adma, Kenti-au-ush of Khenti-keshu, and Tenu from the two lands of the Fenkhu; these are the princes who bear witness of me as to all that has passed, out of love for thyself. Does not Tenu believe that it belongs to thee like thy dogs? Behold this flight that I have made: I did not have it in my heart; it was like the leading of a dream, as a man of Adehi (Delta) sees

himself in Abu (Elephantine), as a man of the plain of Egypt who sees himself in the deserts. There was no fear, there was no hastening after me; I did not listen to an evil plot, my name was not heard in the mouth of the magistrate; but my limbs went, my feet wandered, my heart drew me; my god commanded this flight, and drew me on; but I am not stiff-necked. Does a man fear when he sees his own land? Re spread thy fear over the land, thy terrors in every strange land. Behold me now in the palace, behold me in this place; and lo! thou art he who is over all the horizon; the sun rises at thy pleasure, the water in the rivers is drunk at thy will, the wind in heaven is breathed at thy saying.

"I who speak to thee shall leave my goods to the generations to follow in this land. And as to this messenger who is come, even let thy Majesty do as pleaseth him, for one lives by the breath that thou givest. O thou who art beloved of Re, of Horus, and of Hathor; Mentu, lord of Thebes, desires that thy august nostril should live forever."

I made a feast in Iaa, to pass over my goods to my children. My eldest son was leading my tribe, all my goods passed to him, and I gave him my corn and all my cattle, my fruit, and all my pleasant trees. When I had taken my road to the south, and arrived at the roads of Horus, the officer who was over the garrison sent a messenger to the palace to give notice. His Majesty sent the good overseer of the peasants of the King's domains, and boats laden with presents from the King for the Sati who had come to conduct me to the roads of Horus. I spoke to each one by his name, and I gave the presents to each as was intended. I received and I returned the salutation, and I continued thus until I reached the city of Thetu.

When the land was brightened, and the new day began, four men came with a summons for me; and the four men went to lead me to the palace. I saluted with both my hands on the ground; the royal children stood at the courtyard to conduct me: the courtiers who were to lead me to the hall brought me on the way to the royal chamber.

I found his Majesty on the great throne in the hall of pale

gold. Then I threw myself on my belly; this god, in whose presence I was, knew me not. He questioned me graciously, but I was as one seized with blindness, my spirit fainted, my limbs failed, my heart was no longer in my bosom, and I knew the difference between life and death. His Majesty said to one of the companions, "Lift him up, let him speak to me." And his Majesty said: "Behold thou hast come, thou hast trodden the deserts, thou hast played the wanderer. Decay falls on thee, old age has reached thee; it is no small thing that thy body should be embalmed, that the Peditu shall not bury thee. Do not, do not, be silent and speechless; tell thy name; is it fear that prevents thee?" I answered in reply: "I fear, what is it that my lord has said that I should answer it? I have not called on me the hand of God, but it is terror in my body, like that which brings sudden death. Now behold I am before thee; thou art life; let thy Majesty do what pleaseth him."

The royal children were brought in, and his Majesty said to the Queen, "Behold thou Sinuhit has come as an Amu, whom the Sati have produced."

She cried aloud, and the royal children spake with one voice, saying, before his Majesty, "Verily it is not so, O King, my lord." Said his Majesty, "It is verily he." Then they brought their collars, and their wands, and their sistra in their hands, and displayed them before his Majesty; and they sang —

"May thy hands prosper, O King;
May the ornaments of the Lady of Heaven continue.
May the goddess Nub give life to thy nostril;
May the mistress of the stars favor thee, when thou sailest south and north.

All wisdom is in the mouth of thy Majesty;
Thy uraeus is on thy forehead, thou drivest away the miserable.
Thou art pacified, O Re, lord of the lands;
They call on thee as on the mistress of all.

Strong is thy horn,
Thou lettest fly thine arrow.

Grant the breath to him who is without it;
Grant good things to this traveler, Sinuhit the Pediti, born in the land of Egypt,
Who fled away from fear of thee,

And fled this land from thy terrors.
Does not the face grow pale, of him who beholds thy countenance;
Does not the eye fear, which looks upon thee?"

Said his Majesty, "Let him not fear, let him be freed from terror. He shall be a Royal Friend among the nobles; he shall be put within the circle of the courtiers. Go ye to the chamber of praise to seek wealth for him."

When I went out from the palace, the royal children offered their hands to me; we walked afterward to the Great Gates. I was placed in a house of a King's son, in which were delicate things, a place of coolness, fruits of the granary, treasures of the White House, clothes of the King's wardrobe, frankincense, the finest perfumes of the King and the nobles whom he loves, in every chamber. All the servitors were there.

Years were removed from my limbs: I was shaved, and polled my locks of hair; the foulness was cast to the desert with the garments of the Nemausha. I clothed me in fine linen, and anointed myself with the fine oil of Egypt; I laid me on a bed. I gave up the sand to those who lie on it; the oil of wood to him who would anoint himself therewith. There was given to me the mansion of a lord of serfs, which had belonged to a royal friend. There many excellent things were in its buildings; all its wood was renewed. There were brought to me portions from the palace, thrice and four times each day; besides the gifts of the royal children, always, without ceasing. There was built for me a pyramid of stone amongst the pyramids. The overseer of the architects measured its ground; the chief treasurer wrote it; the sacred masons cut the well; the chief of the laborers on the tombs brought the bricks; all things used to make strong a building were there used. There were given to me peasants; there were made for me a garden, and fields in it before my mansion, as is done for the chief Royal Friend. My statue was inlaid with gold, its girdle of pale gold; his Majesty caused it to be made. Such is not done to a man of low degree.

May I be in the favor of the King till the day of my death.

This is finished from beginning to end, as was found in the writing.

FRAGMENTS OF THE EARLIEST GHOST-STORY ¹

[It is impossible to discover what the leading idea of the story may have been. Several personages appear in it: a Theban high priest of Amon, named Khonsumhabi, three unnamed men, and a ghost who employs very good language to tell the story of his former life. One fragment seems to have preserved a part of the commencement. The high priest, Khonsumhabi, appears to be entirely occupied with finding a suitable site for his tomb.]

He sent one of his subordinates to the place of the tomb of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Rahotpu, l. h. s.,² and with him the men under the orders of the high-priest of Amonra, king of the gods, three men, four men in all; he embarked with them, he steered, he led them to the place indicated, near the tomb of the King Rahotpu, l. h. s. They went to it with her, and they went inside; she adored twenty-five . . . in the royal . . . country, then they came to the river-bank, and they sailed to Khonsumhabi, the high-priest of Amonra, king of the gods, and they found him who sang the praises of the god in the temple of the city of Amon.

He said to them, "Let us rejoice, for I have come, and I have found the place favorable for establishing my dwelling to perpetuity." The three men said to him with one mouth, "It is found, the place favorable for establishing thy dwelling to perpetuity," and they seated themselves before her, and she passed a happy day, and her heart was given to joy.

¹ From Sir Gaston Maspero's translation.

² The name of Rahotpu was borne by an obscure king of the Sixteenth or Seventeenth Dynasty, whose tomb was apparently situated at Thebes, in the same quarter of the necropolis as the pyramids of the sovereigns of the Eleventh, Thirteenth and Fourteenth and following dynasties, toward Drah-Abu'l-Neggah. He is probably the Rahotpu of this text, though the name has also been read Rahapamh, and identified as a king of the Fourteenth Dynasty.

Then he said to them, "Be ready to-morrow morning when the solar disk issues from the two horizons." He commanded the lieutenant of the temple of Amon to find lodgment for those people, he told each of them what he had to do, and he caused them to return to sleep in the city in the evening. He established . . .

[In another fragment, the high priest found himself face to face chatting with the ghost, and perhaps this was while digging out the more ancient tomb, the owners of which entered into conversation with him, as the mummies of Nenoferkephtah talked with Prince Satni-Khamois.³ At the point where we take up the text again, one of the mummies seems to be relating the story of his earthly life to the first prophet of Amon.]

I grew, and I did not see the rays of the sun, I did not breathe the air, but darkness was before me every day, and no one came to find me. The spirit said to him, "For me, when I was still living on earth, I was the treasurer of King Rahotpu, l. h. s., I was also his infantry lieutenant. Then I passed before men and behind the gods,⁴ and I died in the year XIV, during the months of Shomu,⁵ of the King Manhapuriya,⁶ l. h. s. He gave me my four casings, and my sarcophagus of alabaster; he caused to be done for me all that is done for a man of quality, he gave me offerings. . . ."

[All that follows is very obscure. The ghost seems to complain of some accident that has happened to himself or to his tomb, but we can not clearly make out what is the subject of his dissatisfaction. Perhaps, like Nenoferkephtah in the story of Satni-Khamois, he simply wished to have his wife,

³ See the later tale of Satni.

⁴ "To pass in front of men and behind the gods" is to die. The dead man preceded to the other world those who remained on earth and went to join those who followed Re, Osiris, Sokharis, or some other of the funerary gods.

⁵ The Egyptian year was divided into three seasons of four months each; *Shomu* was the season of harvest.

⁶ This king is yet more obscure than Rahotpu.

his children, or some one whom he had loved, to dwell with him. When he has finished his speech, his visitor speaks in his turn.]

The first prophet of Amonra, king of the gods, Khonsumhabi said to him, "Oh, give me excellent counsel as to what I should do, and I will have it done for thee, or at least grant that five men and five slaves may be given me, in all ten persons, to bring me water, and then I will give corn every day, and that will enrich me, and a libation of water shall be brought me every day." The spirit, Nuitbusokhnu,⁷ said to him, "What hast thou done? If the wood is not left in the sun it will not remain dried; it is not a stone worn with age that is brought. . . ."

[The prophet of Amon appears to ask some favor from the ghost; which, on his part, the ghost does not appear disposed to grant him, notwithstanding the promises made by his visitor. The conversation on this theme lasted a considerable time, and I think we find it continued on the next fragment. Khonsumhabi inquired to which family one of his interlocutors belonged, and his very natural curiosity was amply satisfied.]

The spirit said to him, "X . . . is the name of my father, X . . . the name of the father of my father, and X . . . the name of my mother." The high priest Khonsumhabi said to him, "But then I know thee well. This eternal house in which thou art, it is I who had it made for thee; it is I who caused thee to be buried, in the day when thou didst return to earth; it is I who had done for thee that which should be done for him who is of high rank. But behold, I am in poverty, an evil wind of winter has breathed famine over the country, and I am no longer happy. My heart does not touch joy, because the Nile. . . ." Thus said Khonsumhabi, and

⁷ This name signifies "the dwelling does not contain it." Perhaps, instead of being the name of the dead man, it is a generic name used to denote ghosts.

after that Khonsumhabi remained there, weeping, for a long time, not eating, not drinking, not . . .

[The text is so interrupted by lacunæ that one can not hope to have interpreted it correctly throughout. Even had it been complete, the difficulty would have been scarcely less great. We can not tell whether the fashion among Egyptian ghosts was to render their language obscure at pleasure; this one does not seem to have attempted to make himself clear. His remarks are brusquely broken off in the middle of a phrase.]

THE GREAT EMPIRE

(1600 B.C.—525 B.C.)

THE PER-EM-HRU

OR

“DAY OF PUTTING FORTH”

COMMONLY CALLED

THE BOOK OF THE DEAD

Translated by

E. A. W. BUDGE, F. S. A.

“To the initiated of the sanctuary, no doubt, was reserved the knowledge of the god in the abstract, the god concealed in the unfathomable depth of his own essence. But for the less refined adoration of the people were presented the endless images of deities sculptured on the walls of the temples.”

—ALPHONSE MARIETTE.

“I am the lord of my life.”

—THE BOOK OF THE DEAD.

THE BOOK OF THE DEAD

(INTRODUCTION)

THE Book of the Dead was the great religious book of Ancient Egypt. A copy of it or of its chief chapters was the essential furnishing of every Egyptian tomb. Like the sacred books of most ancient peoples, it consists not of a single book, but of numerous texts preserved from many forgotten ages and finally all classed together as the ancient, venerated, and holy scriptures of the people.

In the main the Book of the Dead is a series of charms. These are to be rehearsed by the dead soul, and will enable it to meet triumphantly all the dangers and obstacles of its journey in the underworld. This journey was conceived as taking the soul through "Amenti," the terrible valley of darkness and desert, and thence through all the world of "Tuat," that is of the dead, until the soul reached the happy "Field of Reeds," or land of joy presided over by the god Osiris. On this lengthy road the soul would meet many deities, some helpful and some harmful. Any one of these might bar the passage if not met boldly and wisely with the proper charm. Hence came the old Egyptian name of their book: it was called the *Per-em-Hru*, the meaning of which is not wholly clear, though perhaps we might paraphrase it as "the day of putting forth one's utmost power," or "the day of making manifest one's godhood," of perfecting the spirit, of conquering eternity.

Probably this remarkable book, this triumph of man's most stupendous self-assertion, only reached its final or fixed form under the Great Empire of the Eighteenth and later dynasties (1400 B.C.). Some of its chapters, however, already existed among the Pyramid Texts and Coffin Texts of the earlier empires. One of the most noted chapters, that of "Coming Forth by Day in the Underworld," is inscribed on

the sarcophagus of a queen of the Middle Empire, with an added statement that it had been discovered during the First Dynasty (some fifteen hundred years earlier) enclosed in the foundations of a building of yet earlier date. Certain other chapters have after them brief notices of when or where they were "found," or rediscovered, in earlier times. Hence there are sections of this ritual of charms which seem to fade back into the furthest prehistoric ages.

Among the thousand gods of Egyptian imagination, two or three emerge in the Book of the Dead as the chief gods. These are Re, the ancient Sun-god, and Osiris, who is also in a way a Sun-god but was probably originally the Nile. Then there is Isis, the devoted wife of Osiris, and their child, Horus, who again becomes a name for the sun. Set, the brother of Osiris, is the chief god of evil. Nut, or Naut, is the goddess of ancient chaos. She is the Night, dark and vast and vague, but not essentially evil.

Perhaps the most noted of all the many chapters of the Book of the Dead is that commonly called "The Negative Confession," though it might be better named "The Assertion of Innocence." This was often written separately, and is now sometimes printed by itself. In it the dead soul declares that he has not committed any one of a long list of sins, covering almost every conceivable fault. A modern reader stands lost in amazement before it. Was the dead soul really expected to recite it, to assert such monumental innocence? And were the gods expected to believe him? All the other chapters were meant to be recited, and this one seems to be so. Yet in that case the whole passage of the soul among the gods seems a mere trial of cunning, the soul asserting what it knows to be untrue; or is it rather that the Egyptians conceived that in the spirit-world there was a creative power in words themselves, that on the mere asserting of a thing that thing came into spiritual existence? Thus when a soul intensely desiring purity declared itself pure, it became pure; when it declared itself god, it became god. This seems at least the most aspiring, and most intelligible, explanation of many an astounding passage in the great Per-em-Hru.

THE BOOK OF THE DEAD

A HYMN TO THE SETTING SUN

A HYMN OF PRAISE TO RE WHEN HE RISETH UPON THE HORIZON, AND WHEN HE SETTETH IN THE LAND OF LIFE. Osiris, the scribe Ani, saith:

“Homage to thee, O Re, when thou risest as Tem-Herukhuti (Tem-Harmakhis). Thou art adored by me when thy beauties are before mine eyes, and when thy radiance falleth upon my body. Thou goest forth to thy setting in the *Sektet* boat with the fair winds, and thy heart is glad; the heart of the *Matet* boat rejoiceth. Thou stridest over the heavens in peace, and all thy foes are cast down; the never-resting stars sing hymns of praise unto thee, and the stars which rest, and the stars which never fail, glorify thee as thou sinkest to rest in the horizon of Manu,¹ O thou who art beautiful at morn and at eve, O thou lord who livest and art established, O my lord!

“Homage to thee, O thou who art Re when thou risest, and Tem when thou settest in beauty. Thou risest and shinest on the back of thy mother Nut, O thou who art crowned king of the gods! Nut doeth homage unto thee, and everlasting and never-changing order embraceth thee at morn and at eve. Thou stridest over the heaven, being glad of heart, and the Lake of Testes is content thereat. The Sebau Fiend hath fallen to the ground; his arms and his hands have been hacked off, and the knife hath severed the joints of his body. Re hath a fair wind; the *Sektet* boat goeth forth and, sailing along, it cometh into port. The gods of the south and of the north, of the west and of the east, praise thee, O thou divine substance, from whom all forms of life come into being. Thou sendest forth the word, and the earth is flooded with silence, O thou only One, who didst dwell in heaven before

¹ The mountain of sunset.

ever the earth and the mountains came into existence. O Runner, O Lord, O only One, thou maker of things which are, thou hast fashioned the tongue of the company of the gods, thou hast produced whatsoever cometh forth from the waters, and thou springest up from them over the flooded land of the Lake of Horus. Let me snuff the air which cometh forth from thy nostrils, and the north wind which cometh forth from thy mother Nut. Oh, make thou to be glorious my shining form, O Osiris, make thou to be divine my soul! Thou art worshiped in peace (or in setting), O Lord of the gods, thou art exalted by reason of thy wondrous works. Shine thou with thy rays of light upon my body day by day, upon me, Osiris the scribe, the teller of the divine offerings of all the gods, the overseer of the granary of the lords of Abtu (Abydos), the royal scribe in truth who loveth thee; Ani, victorious in peace."

HYMN AND LITANY TO OSIRIS ²

"Praise be unto thee, O Osiris, lord of eternity, Unnefer, Heru-khuti (Harmakhis), whose forms are manifold, and whose attributes are majestic, Ptah-Seker-Tem in Annu (Heliopolis), the lord of the hidden place, and the creator of Het-ka-Ptah (Memphis) and of the gods therein, the guide of the underworld, whom the gods glorify when thou settest in Nut. Isis embraced thee in peace, and she driveth away the fiends from the mouth of thy paths. Thou turnest thy face upon Amentet, and thou makest the earth to shine as with refined copper. Those who have lain down (*i.e.*, the dead) rise up to see thee, they breathe the air and they look upon thy face when the Disk riseth on its horizon; their hearts are at peace inasmuch as they behold thee, O thou who art Eternity and Everlastingness!"

LITANY

"Homage to thee, O lord of starry deities in Annu, and of heavenly beings in Kher-aba; thou god Unti, who art more

² From the Papyrus of Ani.

glorious than the gods who are hidden in Annu; oh, grant³ thou unto me a path whereon I may pass in peace, for I am just and true; I have not spoken lies wittingly, nor have I done aught with deceit.

"Homage to thee, O An in Antes, Heru-khuti (Harmakhis), with long strides thou stridest over heaven, O Heru-khuti. Oh, grant thou unto me a path whereon I may pass in peace, for I am just and true; I have not spoken lies wittingly, nor have I done aught with deceit.

"Homage to thee, O Soul of everlastingness, thou Soul who dwellest in Tattu, Unnefer, son of Nut; thou art lord of Akert. Oh, grant thou unto me a path wherein I may pass in peace, for I am just and true; I have not spoken lies wittingly, nor have I done aught with deceit.

"Homage to thee in thy dominion over Tattu; the *Ureret* crown is established upon thy head; thou art the One who maketh the strength which protecteth himself, and thou dwellest in peace in Tattu. Oh, grant thou unto me a path whereon I may pass in peace, for I am just and true; I have not spoken lies wittingly, nor have I done aught with deceit.

"Homage to thee, O lord of the Acacia tree, the *Seker* boat is set upon its sledge; thou turnest back the Fiend, the worker of evil, and thou causest the *Utchat* to rest upon its seat. Oh, grant thou unto me a path whereon I may pass in peace, for I am just and true; I have not spoken lies wittingly, nor have I done aught with deceit.

"Homage to thee, O thou who art mighty in thine hour, thou great and mighty Prince, dweller in An-rut-f,⁴ lord of eternity and creator of everlastingness, thou art the lord of Suten-henen (Heracleopolis Magna). Oh, grant thou unto

³ The following petition, "Oh, grant thou unto me a path," etc., is written once only, and at the end of the Litany, but it is clear that it was intended to be repeated after each of the nine addresses. This is proved by the Saïte Recension, where the words, "Grant thou the sweet breath of the north wind to the Osiris Auf-ankh," are written in two places and are intended to be said after each of the ten addresses above them.

⁴ "The place where nothing groweth," the name of a district in the underworld.

me a path whereon I may pass in peace, for I am just and true; I have not spoken lies wittingly, nor have I done aught with deceit.

“Homage to thee, O thou who retest upon Right and Truth, thou art the lord of Abtu (Abydos), and thy limbs are joined unto Ta-tchesertet; thou art he to whom fraud and guile are hateful. Oh, grant thou unto me a path whereon I may pass in peace, for I am just and true; I have not spoken lies wittingly, nor have I done aught with deceit.

“Homage to thee, O thou who art within thy boat, thou bringest Hapi (*i.e.*, the Nile) forth from his source; the light shineth upon thy body and thou art the dweller in Nekhen.⁵ Oh, grant thou unto me a path whereon I may pass in peace, for I am just and true; I have not spoken lies wittingly, nor have I done aught with deceit.

“Homage to thee, O creator of the gods, thou King of the North and of the South, O Osiris, victorious one, ruler of the world in thy gracious seasons; thou art the lord of the celestial world.⁶ Oh, grant thou unto me a path whereon I may pass in peace, for I am just and true; I have not spoken lies wittingly, nor have I done aught with deceit.”

HYMN TO RE

A HYMN OF PRAISE TO RE WHEN HE RISETH IN THE EASTERN PART OF HEAVEN. Those who are in his train rejoice, and lo! Osiris Ani, victorious, saith:

“Hail thou Disk, thou lord of rays, who risest on the horizon day by day! Shine thou with thy beams of light upon the face of Osiris Ani, who is victorious; for he singeth hymns of praise unto thee at dawn, and he maketh thee to set at eventide with words of adoration. May the soul of Osiris Ani, the triumphant one, come forth with thee into heaven, may he go forth in the *Matet* boat. May he come into port

⁵ The name of the sanctuary of the goddess Nekhebet in Upper Egypt, the Eileithyiaopolis of the Greeks.

⁶ *I.e.*, the two lands Atebui, which were situated one on each side of the celestial Nile.

A PAGE FROM THE BOOK OF THE DEAD.

Showing the judgment of the dead by Osiris.



in the *Sektet* boat, and may he cleave his path among the never-resting stars in the heavens."

Osiris Ani, being in peace and in triumph, adoreth his lord, the lord of eternity, saying: "Homage to thee, O Herukhuti (Harmakhis), who art the god Khepera, the self-created; when thou risest on the horizon and sheddest thy beams of light upon the lands of the North and of the South, thou art beautiful, yea beautiful, and all the gods rejoice when they behold thee, the King of heaven. The goddess Nebt-Unnut is stablished upon thy head; and her uræi of the South and of the North are upon thy brow; she taketh up her place before thee. The god Thoth is stablished in the bows of thy boat to destroy utterly all thy foes. Those who are in the Tuat (underworld) come forth to meet thee, and they bow in homage as they come toward thee, to behold thy beautiful Image. And I have come before thee that I may be with thee to behold thy Disk every day. May I not be shut up in the tomb, may I not be turned back, may the limbs of my body be made new again when I view thy beauties, even as are those of all thy favored ones, because I am one of those who worshiped thee whilst I lived upon earth. May I come in unto the land of eternity, may I come even unto the everlasting land, for behold, O my lord, this hast thou ordained for me."

And lo, Osiris Ani, triumphant in peace, the triumphant one, saith: "Homage to thee, O thou who risest in thy horizon as Re, thou reposest upon law which changeth not nor can be altered. Thou passest over the sky, and every face watcheth thee and thy course, for thou hast been hidden from their gaze. Thou dost show thyself at dawn and at eventide day by day. The *Sektet* boat, wherein is thy Majesty, goeth forth with might; thy beams shine upon all faces; the number of thy red and yellow rays can not be known, nor can thy bright beams be told. The lands of the gods, and the eastern lands of Punt⁷ must be seen, ere that which is hidden in thee may be measured. Alone and by thyself thou dost manifest thyself when thou comest into being above Nu (*i.e.*, the sky). May Ani advance, even as thou dost advance; may he never

⁷ *I.e.*, the land on each side of the Red Sea and on the coast of Africa.

cease to go forward, even as thy Majesty ceaseth not to go forward, even though it be for a moment; for with strides dost thou in one little moment pass over the spaces which would need hundreds of thousands and millions of years for man to pass over; this thou doest, and then dost thou sink to rest. Thou puttest an end to the hours of the night, and thou dost count them, even thou; thou endest them in thine own appointed season, and the earth becometh light. Thou settest thyself before thy handiwork in the likeness of Re, thou risest in the horizon."

Osiris, the scribe Ani, triumphant, declareth his praise of thee when thou shinest, and when thou risest at dawn he crieth in his joy at thy birth: "Thou art crowned with the majesty of thy beauties; thou moldest thy limbs as thou dost advance, and thou bringest them forth without birth-pangs in the form of Re, as thou dost rise up into the upper air. Grant thou that I may come unto the heaven which is everlasting, and unto the mountain where dwell thy favored ones. May I be joined unto those shining beings, holy and perfect, who are in the underworld; and may I come forth with them to behold thy beauties when thou shinest at eventide and goest to thy mother Nu. Thou dost place thyself in the west, and my two hands are raised in adoration of thee when thou settest as a living being. Behold, thou art the maker of eternity, and thou art adored when thou settest in the heavens. I have given my heart unto thee without wavering, O thou who art mightier than the gods."

Osiris Ani, triumphant, saith: "A hymn of praise to thee, O thou who risest like unto gold, and who dost flood the world with light on the day of thy birth. Thy mother giveth thee birth upon her hand, and thou dost give light unto the course of the Disk. O thou great Light, who shinest in the heavens, thou dost strengthen the generations of men with the Nile-flood, and thou dost cause gladness in all lands, and in all cities, and in all the temples. Thou art glorious by reason of thy splendors, and thou makest strong thy *ka* (i.e., Double) with *hu* and *tchefau* foods. O thou who art the mighty one of victories, thou who art the Power of all powers, who dost

make strong thy throne against evil fiends; who art glorious in majesty in the *Sektet* boat, and who art exceeding mighty in the *Atet* boat, make thou glorious Osiris Ani with victory in the underworld; grant thou that in the netherworld he may be without evil. I pray thee to put away his faults behind thee: grant thou that he may be one of thy venerable servants who are with the shining ones; may he be joined unto the souls which are in Ta-tchesertet; and may he journey into the Sekhet-Aaru by a prosperous and happy decree, he the Osiris, the scribe, Ani, triumphant."

And the god saith:

"Thou shalt come forth into heaven, thou shalt pass over the sky, thou shalt be joined into the starry deities. Praises shall be offered unto thee in thy boat, thou shalt be hymned in the *Atet* boat, thou shalt behold Re within his shrine, thou shalt set together with his Disk day by day, thou shalt see the *Ant* fish when it springeth into being in the waters of turquoise, and thou shalt see the *Abtu* fish in his hour. It shall come to pass that the Evil One shall fall when he layeth a snare to destroy thee, and the joints of his neck and of his back shall be hacked asunder. Re saileth with a fair wind, and the *Sektet* boat draweth on and cometh into port. The mariners of Re rejoice, and the heart of Nebt-ankh⁸ is glad, for the enemy of her lord hath fallen to the ground. Thou shalt behold Horus on the standing-place of the pilot of the boat, and Thoth and Maat shall stand one upon each side of him. All the gods shall rejoice when they behold Re coming in peace to make the hearts of the shining ones to live, and Osiris Ani, victorious, the scribe of the divine offerings of the lords of Thebes, shall be along with them!"

HYMN TO THE SETTING SUN⁹

ANOTHER CHAPTER OF THE MYSTERY OF THE TUAT (UNDERWORLD) AND OF PASSING THROUGH THE UNSEEN NETHERWORLD, and of seeing the Disk when he setteth in

⁸ *I.e.*, "Lady of life," a name of Isis.

⁹ From the Papyrus of Mut-hetep.

Amentet, when he is adored by the gods and by the *Khus* in the underworld, and when the Soul which dwelleth in Re is made perfect. He is made mighty before Tem; he is made great before Osiris; he setteth his terror before the company of the gods who are the guides of the netherworld; he maketh long his steps and he maketh his face to enter with that of the great god. Now every *Khu*, for whom these words shall have been said, shall come forth by day in any form which he is pleased to take; he shall gain power among the gods of the Tuat (underworld), and they shall recognize him as one of themselves; and he shall enter in at the hidden gate with power.

The lady Mut-hetep, victorious, singeth hymns of praise to thee saying: "O Re-Tem, in thy splendid progress thou risest, and thou settest as a living being in the glories of the western horizon; thou settest in thy territory which is in Manu. Thy uræus is behind thee, thy uræus is behind thee. Homage to thee, O thou who art in peace, homage to thee, O thou who art in peace. Thou art joined unto the Eye of Tem, and it chooseth its powers of protection to place behind thy members. Thou goest forth through heaven, thou travellest over the earth, and thou journeyest onward. O Luminary, the northern and southern halves of heaven come to thee and they bow low in adoration, and they pay homage unto thee, day by day. The gods of Amentet rejoice in thy beauties and the unseen places sing hymns of praise unto thee. Those who dwell in the *Sektet* boat go round about thee, and the Souls of the East pay homage to thee, and when they meet thy Majesty they cry: 'Come, come in peace!' There is a shout of welcome to thee, O lord of heaven and governor of Amentet! Thou art acknowledged by Isis who seeth her son in thee, the lord of fear, the mighty one of terror. Thou settest as a living being in the hidden place. Thy father Ta-tunen raiseth thee up, and he placeth both his hands behind thee; thou becomest endowed with divine attributes in thy members of earth; thou wakest in peace and thou settest in Manu. Grant thou that I may become a being honored before Osiris, and that I may come to thee, O Re-Tem! I

have adored thee, therefore do thou for me that which I wish. Grant thou that I may be victorious in the presence of the company of the gods. Thou art beautiful, O Re, in thy western horizon of Amentet, thou lord of Maat, thou mighty one of fear, thou whose attributes are majestic, O thou who art greatly beloved by those who dwell in the Tuat (underworld); thou shinest with thy beams upon the beings that are therein perpetually, and thou sendest forth thy light upon the path of Re-stau. Thou openest up the path of the double Lion-god, thou settest the gods upon their thrones, and the *Khus* in their abiding-places. The heart of Naarerf is glad when Re setteth, the heart of Naarerf is glad when Re setteth.

"Hail, O ye gods of the land of Amentet who make offerings and oblations unto Re-Tem, ascribe ye glory unto him when ye meet him. Grasp ye your weapons and overthrow ye the fiend Seba on behalf of Re, and repulse the fiend Nebt on behalf of Osiris. The gods of the land of Amentet rejoice and lay hold upon the cords of the *Sektet* boat, and they come in peace; the gods of the hidden place who dwell in Amentet triumph.

"Hail, Thoth, who didst make Osiris to triumph over his enemies, make thou Mut-hetep victorious, to triumph over her enemies in the presence of the great divine sovereign chiefs who live with Osiris, the lord of life. The great god who dwelleth in his Disk cometh forth, that is, Horus the avenger of his father Unnefer-Re. Osiris setteth, and the *Khus* who are in the Tuat (underworld) say: Homage to thee, O thou who comest as Tem, and who comest into being as the creator of the gods. Homage to thee, O thou who comest as the holy Soul of souls, who dwellest in the horizon. Homage to thee who art more glorious than all the gods and who illuminest the Tuat with thine Eye. Homage to thee who sailest in thy glory and who goest round about it in thy Disk."

[The following variant of the above hymn is translated from the text in the Papyrus of Nekhtu-Amen (Naville, "*Todtenbuch*" Bd. II. p. 23):]

ANOTHER CHAPTER OF THE MYSTERY OF THE TUAT (UNDERWORLD) AND OF TRAVERSING THE UNSEEN PLACES OF THE

UNDERWORLD, of seeing the Disk when he setteth in Amentet, when he is adored by the gods and by the *Khus* of the Tuat (underworld), and when the divine *Khu* which dwelleth within Re is made perfect. He setteth his might before Re, he setteth his power before Tem, he setteth his strength before Khenti-Amentet, and he setteth his terror before the company of the gods. The Osiris of the gods goeth as leader through the Tuat (underworld), he crasheth through mountains, he bursteth through rocks, he maketh glad the heart of every *Khu*. This composition shall be recited by the deceased when he cometh forth and when he goeth in with the gods, among whom he findeth no opposition; then shall he come forth by day in all the manifold and exceedingly numerous forms which he may be pleased to take. The Osiris . . . saith:

“A hymn of praise to Re at eventide when he setteth as a living being in Baakha.¹⁰ The great god who dwelleth in his Disk riseth in his two eyes¹¹ and all the *Khus* of the underworld receive him in his horizon of Amentet; they shout praises unto Heru-khuti (Harmakhis) in his form of Tem, and they sing hymns of joy to Re when they have received him at the head of his beautiful path of Amentet.”

He (*i.e.*, the deceased) saith: “Praise be unto thee, O Re, praise be unto thee, O Tem, in thy splendid progress. Thou hast risen and thou hast put on strength, and thou settest like a living being amid thy glories in the horizon of Amentet, in thy domain which is in Manu. Thy uræus-goddess is behind thee; thy uræus-goddess is behind thee. Hail to thee, in peace; hail to thee, in peace. Thou joinest thyself unto the Eye of Horus, and thou hidest thyself within its secret place; it destroyeth for thee all the convulsions of thy face, it maketh thee strong with life, and thou livest. It bindeth its protecting amulets behind thy members. Thou sailest forth over heaven, and thou maketh the earth to be established; thou joinest thyself unto the upper heaven, O Luminary. The two re-

¹⁰ *I.e.*, the mountain of sunrise, but the scribe appears to have written “Baakha” instead of “Manu.”

¹¹ The Sun and the Moon.

gions of the East and West make adoration unto thee, bowing low and paying homage unto thee, and they praise thee day by day; the gods of Amentet rejoice in thy splendid beauties. The hidden places adore thee, the aged ones make offerings unto thee, and they create for thee protecting powers. The divine beings who dwell in the eastern and western horizons transport thee, and those who are in the *Sektet* boat convey thee round and about. The Souls of Amentet cry out unto thee and say unto thee when they meet thy Majesty (life, health, strength!), 'All hail, all hail!' When thou comest forth in peace there arise shouts of delight to thee, O thou lord of heaven, thou Prince of Amentet. Thy mother Isis embraceth thee, and in thee she recognizeth her son, the lord of fear, the mighty one of terror. Thou settest as a living being within the dark portal. Thy father Tatunen lifteth thee up and he stretcheth out his two hands behind thee; thou becomest a divine being in the earth. Thou wakest as thou settest, and thy habitation is in Manu. Grant thou that I may be venerated before Osiris, and come thou to me, O Re-Tem. Since thou hast been adored by me, that which I wish thou shalt do for me day by day. Grant thou victory unto me before the great company of the gods, O Re who art doubly beautiful in thy horizon of Amentet, thou lord of Maat who dwellest in the horizon. The fear of thee is great, thy forms are majestic, and the love of thee is great among those who dwell in the underworld."

HYMN TO THE SETTING SUN ¹²

A HYMN OF PRAISE TO RE-HERU-KHUTI (RE-HARMAKHIS) WHEN HE SETTETH IN THE WESTERN PART OF HEAVEN. He (*i.e.*, the deceased) saith:

"Homage to thee, O Re who in thy sitting art Tem-Herukhuti (Tem-Harmakhis), thou divine god, thou self-created being, thou primeval matter from which all things were made. When thou appearest in the bows of thy bark men

¹² From a Papyrus of the Nineteenth Dynasty preserved at Dublin.

shout for joy at thee, O maker of the gods! Thou didst stretch out the heavens wherein thy two eyes might travel, thou didst make the earth to be a vast chamber for thy *Khus*, so that every man might know his fellow. The *Sektet* boat is glad, and the *Matet* boat rejoiceth; and they greet thee with exaltation as thou journeyest along. The god Nu is content, and thy mariners are satisfied; the uræus-goddess hath overthrown thine enemies, and thou hast carried off the legs of Apep. Thou art beautiful, O Re, each day, and thy mother Nut embraceth thee; thou settest in beauty, and thy heart is glad in the horizon of Manu, and the holy beings therein rejoice. Thou shinest there with thy beams, O thou great god, Osiris, the everlasting Prince. The lords of the zones of the Tuat in their caverns stretch out their hands in adoration before thy *Ka* (double), and they cry out to thee, and they all come forth in the train of thy form shining brilliantly. The hearts of the lords of the Tuat (underworld) are glad when thou sendest forth thy glorious light in Amentet; their two eyes are directed toward thee, and they press forward to see thee, and their hearts rejoice when they do see thee. Thou harkenest unto the acclamations of those that are in the funeral chest,¹³ thou doest away with their helplessness and drivest away the evils which are about them. Thou givest breath to their nostrils and they take hold of the bows of thy bark in the horizon of Manu. Thou art beautiful each day, O Re, and may thy mother Nut embrace Osiris . . . ,¹⁴ victorious.”

THE CHAPTER OF THE CHAPLET OF VICTORY

THE CHAPTER OF THE CHAPLET OF VICTORY. Osiris Aupanh, victorious, born of Sheret-Amsu, victorious, saith:

“Thy father Tem hath woven for thee a beautiful chaplet of victory to be placed on thy living brow, O thou who lovest the gods, and thou shalt live forever. Osiris-khent-Amentet¹⁵

¹³ *I.e.*, the dead.

¹⁴ The name of the deceased is wanting.

¹⁵ *I.e.*, Osiris, governor of Amentet.

hath made thee to triumph over thine enemies, and thy father Seb hath decreed for thee all his inheritance. Come, therefore, O Horus, son of Isis, for thou, O son of Osiris, sit-test upon the throne of thy father Re to overthrow thine enemies, for he hath ordained for thee the two lands to their utmost limits. Atem hath also ordained this, and the company of the gods hath confirmed the splendid power of the victory of Horus the son of Isis and the son of Osiris forever and forever. And Osiris Auf-ankh shall be victorious forever and ever. O Osiris-khent-Amentet, the whole of the northern and southern parts of the heavens, and every god and every goddess, who are in heaven and who are upon earth, will the victory of Horus, the son of Isis and the son of Osiris, over his enemies in the presence of Osiris-khent-Amentet who will make Osiris Auf-ankh, victorious, to triumph over his enemies in the presence of Osiris-khent-Amentet, Un-nefer, the son of Nut, on the day of making him to triumph over Set and his fiends in the presence of the great sovereign chiefs who are in Annu (Heliopolis); on the night of the battle and overthrow of the Seba-fiend in the presence of the great sovereign princes who are in Abtu; on the night of making Osiris to triumph over his enemies make thou Osiris Auf-ankh, triumphant, to triumph over his enemies in the presence of the great sovereign princes, who are in the horizon of Amentet; on the day of the festival of Haker in the presence of the great sovereign princes who are in Tattu; on the night of the setting up of the Tet in Tattu in the presence of the great sovereign princes who are in the ways of the damned; on the night of the judgment of those who shall be annihilated in the presence of the great sovereign princes who are in Sekhem (Letopolis); on the night of the 'things of the altars in Sekhem' in the presence of the great sovereign princes who are in Pe and Tepu; on the night of the stablishing of the inheriting by Horus of the things of his father Osiris in the presence of the great sovereign princes who are at the great festival of the plowing and turning up of the earth in Tattu," or (as others say), "in Abtu; on the night of the weighing of

words," or (as others say), "weighing of locks in the presence of the great sovereign princes who are in An-rut-f on its place; on the night when Horus receiveth the birth-chamber of the gods in the presence of the great sovereign princes who are in the lands of Rekhti; on the night when Isis lieth down to watch and to make lamentation for her brother in the presence of the great sovereign princes who are in Re-stau; on the night of making Osiris to triumph over all his enemies.

"Horus repeated these words four times, and all his enemies fell headlong and were overthrown and were cut to pieces; and Osiris Auf-ankh, triumphant, repeated these words four times, therefore let all his enemies fall headlong, and be overthrown and cut to pieces. Horus, the son of Isis and son of Osiris, celebrated in turn millions of festivals, and all his enemies fell headlong, and were overthrown and cut to pieces. Their habitation hath gone forth to the block of the East, their heads have been cut off; their necks have been destroyed; their thighs have been cut off; they have been given over to the Great Destroyer who dwellest in the valley of the grave; and they shall never come forth from under the restraint of the god Seb."

THIS CHAPTER SHALL BE RECITED OVER THE DIVINE CHAP-
LET WHICH IS LAID UPON THE FACE OF THE DECEASED, AND
THOU SHALT CAST INCENSE INTO THE FIRE ON BEHALF OF
OSIRIS AUF-ANKH, TRIUMPHANT, BORN OF SHERET-AMSU, TRI-
UMPHANT; THUS SHALT THOU CAUSE HIM TO TRIUMPH OVER
HIS ENEMIES, DEAD OR ALIVE, AND HE SHALL BE AMONG THE
FOLLOWERS OF OSIRIS; AND A HAND SHALL BE STRETCHED OUT
TO HIM WITH MEAT AND DRINK IN THE PRESENCE OF THE GOD.
THIS CHAPTER SHALL BE SAID BY THEE TWICE AT DAWN — NOW
IT IS A NEVER-FAILING CHARM — REGULARLY AND CONTIN-
UALLY.

THE CHAPTER OF THE VICTORY OVER ENEMIES ¹⁶

“Hail, Thoth, who didst make Osiris to triumph over his enemies, snare thou the enemies of Osiris, the scribe Nebseni, the lord of piety, in the presence of the great sovereign princes of every god and of every goddess; in the presence of the great sovereign princes who are in Annu (Heliopolis) on the night of the battle and of the overthrow of the Sebau-fiend in Tattu; on the night of making to stand up the double Tet in Sekhem (Letopolis); on the night of the things of the night in Sekhem, in Pe, and in Tepu;¹⁷ on the night of the stablishing of Horus in the heritage of the things of his father in the double land of Rekhti; on the night when Isis maketh lamentation at the side of her brother Osiris in Abtu (Abydos); on the night of the Haker festival of the distinguishing between the dead (*i.e.*, the damned) and the *Khus* on the path of the dead (*i.e.*, the damned); on the night of the judgment of those who are to be annihilated at the great festival of the plowing and the turning up of the earth in Naare-rut-f in Re-stau; and on the night of making Horus to triumph over his enemies. Horus is mighty, the northern and southern halves of heaven rejoice, Osiris is content thereat and his heart is glad. Hail, Thoth, make thou to triumph Osiris, the scribe Nebseni, over his enemies in the presence of the sovereign princes of every god and every goddess, and in the presence of you, ye sovereign princes who passed judgment on Osiris behind the shrine.”

[In the Saïte Recension this chapter has no vignette, but it has the title “Another Chapter of the Chaplet of Victory,” and is arranged in tabular form. The words, “Hail, Thoth, make Osiris Auf-ankh, triumphant, to triumph over his enemies even as thou didst make Osiris to triumph over his enemies,” which are written in two horizontal lines, are to be repeated before each column of text. The “great sovereign

¹⁶ From the Papyrus of Nebseni.

¹⁷ Pe and Tepu were two famous sanctuaries of northern Egypt.

princes" invoked are those of: (1) Annu (Heliopolis), (2) Tattu, (3) Sekhem (Letopolis), (4) Pe and Tepu, (5) An-arut-f, (6) the double land of Rekhti, (7) Re-stau, (8) Abtu, (9) the paths of the dead, (10) the plowing festival in Tattu, (11) Kher-aba, (12) Osiris, (13) heaven and earth, (14) every god and every goddess. The rubric reads:]

IF THIS CHAPTER BE RECITED REGULARLY AND ALWAYS BY A MAN WHO HATH PURIFIED HIMSELF IN WATER OF NATRON, HE SHALL COME FORTH BY DAY AFTER HE HATH COME INTO PORT (*i.e.*, IS DEAD), AND HE SHALL PERFORM ALL THE TRANSFORMATIONS WHICH HIS HEART SHALL DICTATE, AND HE SHALL COME FORTH FROM EVERY FIRE.

THE CHAPTER OF GIVING A MOUTH TO THE OVERSEER

THE CHAPTER OF GIVING A MOUTH TO THE OVERSEER OF THE HOUSE, NU, TRIUMPHANT, IN THE UNDERWORLD. He saith:

"Homage to thee, O thou lord of brightness, thou who art at the head of the Great House, prince of the night and of thick darkness. I have come unto thee being a pure *khu*. Thy two hands are behind thee, and thou hast thy lot with thy ancestors. Oh, grant thou unto me my mouth that I may speak therewith; and guide thou to me my heart at the season when there is cloud — and darkness."

THE CHAPTER OF GIVING A MOUTH TO OSIRIS ANI¹⁸

THE CHAPTER OF GIVING A MOUTH TO OSIRIS ANI, THE SCRIBE AND TELLER OF THE HOLY OFFERINGS OF ALL THE GODS, TRIUMPHANT, IN THE UNDERWORLD. He saith:

"I rise out of the egg in the hidden land. May my mouth be given unto me that I may speak therewith in the presence of the great god, the lord of the Tuat (underworld). May

¹⁸ From the Papyrus of Ani.

my hand and my arm not be forced back in the presence of the sovereign princes of any god. I am Osiris, the lord of Restau; may I, Osiris the scribe Ani, triumphant, have a portion with him who is on the top of the steps (*i.e.*, Osiris). According to the desire of my heart, I have come from the Pool of Fire, and I have quenched the fire."

OPENING THE MOUTH OF OSIRIS

THE CHAPTER OF OPENING THE MOUTH OF OSIRIS. The scribe Ani, triumphant, saith:

"May the good Ptah open my mouth, and may the god of my city loose the swathings, even the swathings which are over my mouth. Moreover, may Thoth, being filled and furnished with charms, come and loose the bandages, even the bandages of Set which fetter my mouth; and may the god Tem hurl them at those who would fetter me with them, and drive them back. May my mouth be opened, may my mouth be unclosed by Shu with his iron knife wherewith he opened the mouths of the gods. I am the goddess Sekhet, and I sit upon my place in the great wind of heaven. I am the great goddess Sah who dwelleth among the Souls of Annu (Heliopolis). Now as concerning every charm and all the words which may be spoken against me, may the gods resist them, and may each and every one of the company of the gods withstand them."

THE CHAPTER OF BRINGING CHARMS TO OSIRIS

THE CHAPTER OF BRINGING CHARMS UNTO OSIRIS ANI IN THE UNDERWORLD. He saith:

"I am Tem-Khepera, who brought himself into being upon the thigh of his divine mother. Those who are in Nu (*i.e.*, the sky) are made wolves, and those who are among the sovereign princes are become hyenas. Behold, I gather together the charm from every place where it is, and from every man with whom it is, swifter than greyhounds and

quicker than light. Hail, thou who towest along the *Mak-hent* boat of Re, the stays of thy sails and of thy rudder are taut in the wind as thou sailest up the Pool of Fire in the underworld. Behold, thou gatherest together the charm from every place where it is, and from every man with whom it is, swifter than greyhounds and quicker than light, the charm which created the forms of being from the . . . mother, and which either createth the gods or maketh them silent, and which giveth the heat of fire unto the gods. Behold, the charm is given unto me, from wherever it is and from him with whom it is, swifter than greyhounds and quicker than light," or (as others say) "quicker than a shadow."

THE CHAPTER OF MEMORY ¹⁹

THE CHAPTER OF MAKING A MAN TO POSSESS MEMORY IN THE UNDERWORLD. The chancellor-in-chief, Nu, triumphant, the overseer of the palace, the son of the chief chancellor Amen-hetep, saith:

"May my name be given to me in the Great House, and may I remember my name in the House of Fire on the night of counting the years and of telling the number of the months, I am with the Divine One, and I sit on the eastern side of heaven. If any god whatsoever should advance unto me, let me be able to proclaim his name forthwith."

THE CHAPTER OF GIVING A HEART TO OSIRIS ²⁰

THE CHAPTER OF GIVING A HEART TO OSIRIS ANI IN THE UNDERWORLD. He saith:

"May my heart (*ab*) ²¹ be with me in the House of Hearts! May my heart (*hat*) be with me in the House of Hearts! May my heart be with me, and may it rest there,

¹⁹ From the Papyrus of Nu.

²⁰ From the Papyrus of Ani.

²¹ *Ab* is undoubtedly the "heart," and *hat* is the region wherein is the heart; the word may be fairly well rendered by "breast," though the pericardium is probably intended.

or I shall not eat of the cakes of Osiris on the eastern side of the Lake of Flowers, neither shall I have a boat wherein to go down the Nile, nor another wherein to go up, nor shall I be able to sail down the Nile with thee. May my mouth be given to me that I may speak therewith, and my two legs to walk therewith, and my two hands and arms to overthrow my foe. May the doors of heaven be opened unto me; may Seb, the Prince ²² of the gods, open wide his two jaws unto me; may he open my two eyes which are blindfolded; may he cause me to stretch apart my two legs which are bound together; and may Anpu (Anubis) make my thighs firm so that I may stand upon them. May the goddess Sekhet make me to rise so that I may ascend unto heaven, and may that be done which I command in the House of the *ka* (double) of Ptah (*i.e.*, Memphis). I understand with my heart. I have gained the mastery over my heart, I have gained the mastery over my two hands, I have gained the mastery over my legs, I have gained the power to do whatsoever my *ka* (double) pleaseth. My soul shall not be fettered to my body at the gates of the underworld; but I shall enter in peace and I shall come forth in peace."

THE CHAPTER OF PRESERVING THE HEART

THE CHAPTER OF NOT LETTING THE HEART (*Hati*) OF A MAN BE TAKEN FROM HIM IN THE UNDERWORLD.²³ Saith Osiris Ani:

"Hail, ye who carry away hearts! Hail, ye who steal hearts, and who make the heart of a man to go through its transformations according to his deeds, let not what he hath done harm him before you.²⁴ Homage to you, O ye lords of eternity, ye possessors of everlastingness, take ye not this heart of Osiris Ani into your grasp, this heart of Osiris, and

²² *Erpat*, *i.e.*, "tribal chief."

²³ The Papyrus of Mes-em-neter adds: "His heart goeth forth to take up its abode in his body, his heart is renewed before the gods, and he hath gained the mastery over it."

²⁴ This sentence is taken from the Papyrus of Mes-em-neter.

cause ye not words of evil to spring up against it; because this is the heart of Osiris Ani, triumphant, and it belongeth unto him of many names (*i.e.*, Thoth), the mighty one whose words are his limbs, who sendeth forth his heart to dwell in his body. The heart of Osiris Ani is triumphant, it is made new before the gods, he hath gained power over it, he hath not been spoken to according to what he hath done. He hath got power over his own members. His heart obeyeth him, he is the lord thereof, it is in his body, and it shall never fall away therefrom. I, Osiris, the scribe Ani, victorious in peace, and triumphant in the beautiful Amenta and on the mountain of eternity, bid thee to be obedient unto me in the underworld."

THE CHAPTER OF PRESERVING THE HEART ²⁵

THE CHAPTER OF NOT LETTING THE HEART OF THE OVERSEER OF THE PALACE, THE CHANCELLOR-IN-CHIEF, NU, TRIUMPHANT, BE CARRIED AWAY FROM HIM IN THE UNDERWORLD. He saith:

"Hail, thou Lion-god! I am the Flower Bush (*Unb*). That which is an abomination unto me is the divine block. Let not this my heart (*hati*) be carried away from me by the fighting gods in Annu. Hail, thou who dost wind bandages round Osiris and who hast seen Set! Hail, thou who returnest after smiting and destroying him before the mighty ones! This my heart (*ab*) sitteth and weepeth for itself before Osiris; it hath made supplication for me. I have given unto him and I have decreed unto him the thoughts of the heart in the House of the god Usekh-hra,²⁶ and I have brought to him sand (*sic*) at the entry to Khemennu (Hermopolis Magna). Let not this my heart (*hati*) be carried away from me! I make thee to dwell upon this throne, O thou who joinest together hearts (*hatu*) in Sekhet-hetep with years of strength against all things that are an abomination unto thee, and to carry off food from among the things which

²⁵ From the Papyrus of Nu.

²⁶ *I.e.*, the god of the "Large Face."

belong unto thee, and are in thy grasp by reason of thy two-fold strength. And this my heart (*hati*) is devoted to the decrees of the god Tem who leadeth me into the dens of Suti, but let not this my heart which hath done its desire before the sovereign princes who are in the underworld be given unto him. When they find the leg and the swathings they bury them."

THE CHAPTER OF PRESERVING THE HEART

THE CHAPTER OF NOT LETTING THE HEART OF A MAN BE TAKEN AWAY FROM HIM IN THE UNDERWORLD. Osiris Ani, triumphant, saith:

"Turn thou back, O messenger of every god! Is it that thou art come to carry away this my heart which liveth? But my heart which liveth shall not be given unto thee. As I advance, the gods harken unto my offerings, and they all fall down upon their faces in their own places."

THE CHAPTER OF PRESERVING THE HEART ²⁷

THE CHAPTER OF NOT ALLOWING THE HEART OF AMEN-HETEP, TRIUMPHANT, TO BE CARRIED AWAY DEAD IN THE UNDERWORLD. The deceased saith:

"My heart is with me, and it shall never come to pass that it shall be carried away. I am the lord of hearts, the slayer of the heart. I live in right and truth (*Maat*) and I have my being therein. I am Horus, the dweller in hearts, who is within the dweller in the body. I live in my word, and my heart hath being. Let not my heart be taken away from me, let it not be wounded, and may neither wounds nor gashes be dealt upon me because it hath been taken away from me. Let me have my being in the body of my father Seb, and in the body of my mother Nut. I have not done that which is held in abomination by the gods; let me not suffer defeat there, but let me be triumphant."

²⁷ From the Papyrus of Amen-hetep.

THE HEART OF CARNELIAN ²⁸

THE CHAPTER OF A HEART OF CARNELIAN. Osiris Ani, triumphant, saith:

"I am the *Bennu*, the soul of Re, and the guide of the gods in the Tuat (underworld). Their divine souls come forth upon earth to do the will of their *kas*; let, therefore, the soul of Osiris Ani come forth to do the will of his *ka*."

PRESERVING THE HEART

THE CHAPTER OF NOT LETTING THE HEART OF A MAN BE DRIVEN AWAY FROM HIM IN THE UNDERWORLD. Osiris Auf-ankh, triumphant, born of Sheret-Amsu, triumphant, saith:

"My heart, my mother; my heart, my mother! My heart of my existence upon earth. May naught stand up to oppose me in judgment; may there be no opposition to me in the presence of the sovereign princes; may no evil be wrought against me in the presence of the gods; may there be no parting of thee from me in the presence of the great god, the lord of Amentet. Homage to thee, O thou heart of Osiris-khent-Amentet! Homage to you, O my reins! Homage to you, O ye gods who dwell in the divine clouds, and who are exalted (or holy) by reason of your scepters! Speak ye fair words for the Osiris Auf-ankh, and make ye him to prosper before Nehebka. And behold, though I be joined unto the earth, and am in the mighty innermost part of heaven, let me remain on the earth and not die in Amentet, and let me be a *khu* therein forever and ever."

THIS CHAPTER SHALL BE RECITED OVER A BASALT SCARAB, WHICH SHALL BE SET IN A GOLD SETTING, AND IT SHALL BE PLACED INSIDE THE HEART OF THE MAN FOR WHOM THE CEREMONIES OF "OPENING THE MOUTH" AND OF ANOINTING WITH UNGUENT HAVE BEEN PERFORMED. AND THERE SHALL BE RECITED BY WAY OF A MAGICAL CHARM THE WORDS: "MY HEART, MY MOTHER; MY HEART, MY MOTHER! MY HEART OF TRANSFORMATIONS."

²⁸ From the Papyrus of Ani.

PRESERVING THE HEART

THE CHAPTER OF NOT LETTING THE HEART OF THE OVERSEER OF THE PALACE, THE CHANCELLOR-IN-CHIEF, NU, TRIUMPHANT, BE DRIVEN AWAY FROM HIM IN THE UNDERWORLD. He saith:

“O my heart, my mother; O my heart, my mother! O my heart of my existence upon earth. May naught stand up to oppose me in judgment in the presence of the lords of the trial; let it not be said of me and of that which I have done, ‘He hath done deeds against that which is right and true’; may naught be against me in the presence of the great god, the lord of Amentet. Homage to thee, O my heart! Homage to thee, O my heart! Homage to you, O my reins! Homage to you, O ye gods who dwell in the divine clouds, and who are exalted (or holy) by reason of your scepters! Speak ye for me fair things to Re, and make ye me to prosper before Nehebka. And behold me, even though I be joined to the earth in the mighty innermost parts thereof, let me remain upon the earth and let me not die in Amentet, but become a *Khu* therein.”

PRESERVING THE HEART

THE CHAPTER OF NOT LETTING THE HEART OF OSIRIS, THE SCRIBE OF THE HOLY OFFERINGS OF ALL THE GODS, ANI, TRIUMPHANT, BE DRIVEN FROM HIM IN THE UNDERWORLD. He saith:

“My heart, my mother; my heart, my mother! My heart whereby I came into being! May naught stand up to oppose me at my judgment; may there be no opposition to me in the presence of the sovereign princes (*Tchatcha*); may there be no parting of thee from me in the presence of him that keepeth the Balance! Thou art my *ka*, the dweller in my body; the god Khnemu who knitteth and strengtheneth my limbs. Mayest thou come forth into the place of happiness whither we go. May the *Shenit* (i.e., the divine officers of the court

of Osiris), who form the conditions of the lives of men, not cause my name to sink. Let it be satisfactory unto us, and let the listening be satisfactory unto us, and let there be joy of heart unto us at the weighing of words. Let not that which is false be uttered against me before the great god, the lord of Amentet. Verily how great shalt thou be when thou risest in triumph!"

RUBRIC

THESE WORDS ARE TO BE SAID OVER A SCARAB OF GREEN STONE ENCIRCLED WITH A BAND OF REFINED COPPER AND HAVING A RING OF SILVER, WHICH SHALL BE PLACED ON THE NECK OF THE KHU.

THIS CHAPTER WAS FOUND IN THE CITY OF KHEMENNÜ (HERMOPOLIS MAGNA) UNDER THE FEET OF THE STATUE OF THIS GOD. IT WAS INSCRIBED UPON A SLAB OF IRON OF THE SOUTH, IN THE WRITING OF THE GOD HIMSELF, IN THE TIME OF THE MAJESTY OF THE KING OF THE NORTH AND OF THE SOUTH, MEN-KAU-RE,²⁹ TRIUMPHANTLY, BY THE ROYAL SON HERU-TA-TA-F, WHO DISCOVERED IT WHILE HE WAS ON HIS JOURNEY TO MAKE AN INSPECTION OF THE TEMPLES AND OF THEIR ESTATES.

BEATING BACK THE CROCODILE

THE CHAPTER OF BEATING BACK THE CROCODILE THAT COMETH TO CARRY AWAY THE CHARM FROM NÜ, THE OVERSEER OF THE PALACE, THE CHANCELLOR-IN-CHIEF, TRIUMPHANT, THE SON OF THE OVERSEER OF THE PALACE, AMEN-HETEP, TRIUMPHANT, IN THE UNDERWORLD. He saith:

"Get thee back, return, get thee back, thou crocodile-fiend Sui; thou shalt not advance to me, for I live by reason of the magical words which I have by me. I do not utter that name of thine to the great god who will cause thee to come to the two divine envoys; the name of the one is Betti,³⁰ and the

²⁹ *I.e.*, Mycerinus, a king of the Fourth Dynasty.

³⁰ *I.e.*, "He of two teeth" (or two horns); the Saïte Recension reads *Bent*, *i.e.*, "ape."

name of the other is 'Hra-k-en-Maat.'³¹ Heaven hath power over its seasons, and the magical word hath power over that which is in its possession, let therefore my mouth have power over the magical word which is therein. My front teeth are like unto flint knives, and my jaw-teeth are like unto the Nome of Tute³². Hail thou that sittest with thine eyeball upon these my magical words! Thou shalt not carry them away, O thou crocodile that livest by means of magical words!"

[In the Turin Papyrus (Lepsius, op. cit., Bl. 16) the following lines are added to this chapter:]

"I am the Prince in the field. I, even I, am Osiris, who hath shut in his father Seb together with his mother Nut on the day of the great slaughter. My father is Seb and my mother is Nut. I am Horus, the first-born of Re, who is crowned. I am Anpu (Anubis) on the day of reckoning. I, even I, am Osiris the prince who goeth in and declareth the offerings which are written down. I am the guardian of the door of Osiris, even I. I have come, I have become glorious (or a *Khu*), I have been reckoned up, I am strong, I have come and I avenge mine own self. I have sat in the birth-chamber of Osiris, and I was born with him, and I renew my youth along with him. I have laid hold upon the Thigh which was by Osiris, and I have opened the mouth of the gods therewith, I sit upon the place where he sitteth, and I write down the number of the things which make strong the heart, thousands of loaves of bread, thousands of vases of beer, which are upon the altars of his father Osiris, numbers of jackals, wolves, oxen, red fowl, geese, and ducks. Horus hath done away with the sacrifices of Thoth. I fill the office of priest in the regions above, and I write down there the things which make strong the heart. I make offerings (or offerings are made to me) at the altars of the Prince of Tattu, and I have my being through the oblations made to him. I snuff the wind of the East by his head, and I lay hold upon

³¹ *I.e.*, "Thy face is of right and truth."

³² We should probably add the word *tep* and read *Tep tu-f*, "He that is upon his hill," *i.e.*, Anubis.

the breezes of the West thereby. . . . I go round about heaven in the four quarters thereof, I stretch out my hand and grasp the breezes of the south which are upon its hair. Grant unto me air among the venerable beings and among those who eat bread."

IF THIS CHAPTER BE KNOWN BY THE DECEASED HE SHALL COME FORTH BY DAY, HE SHALL RISE UP TO WALK UPON THE EARTH AMONG THE LIVING, AND HE SHALL NEVER FAIL AND COME TO AN END, NEVER, NEVER, NEVER.

BEATING BACK THE CROCODILE

THE CHAPTER OF BEATING BACK THE CROCODILE THAT COMETH TO CARRY AWAY THE MAGICAL WORDS FROM THE *KHU* IN THE UNDERWORLD. Osiris Auf-anekh, triumphant, saith:

"The Mighty One fell down upon the place where he is," or (as others say), "upon his belly, but the company of the gods caught him and set him up again. My soul cometh and it speaketh with its father, and the Mighty One delivereth it from these eight crocodiles. I know them by their names and what they live upon, and I am he who hath delivered his father from them.

"Get thee back, O Crocodile that dwellest in the West, thou that livest upon the stars which never rest, for that which is an abomination unto thee is in my belly, O thou that hast eaten the forehead of Osiris. I am Set.

"Get thee back, O Crocodile that dwellest in the West, for the serpent-fiend Naau is in my belly, and I will give him unto thee; let not thy flame be against me.

"Get thee back, O Crocodile that dwellest in the East, who feedest upon those who eat their own filth, for that which is an abomination unto thee is in my belly; I advance, I am Osiris.

"Get thee back, O Crocodile that dwellest in the East, the serpent-fiend Naau is in my belly, and I will give him unto thee; let not thy flame be against me.

"Get thee back, O Crocodile that dwellest in the South, who feedest upon filth, and waste, and dirt, for that which is

an abomination unto thee is in my belly; shall not the flame be on thy hand? I am Sept.

"Get thee back, O Crocodile that dwellest in the South, for I am safe by reason of my charm; my fist is among the flowers and I will not give it unto thee.

"Get thee back, O Crocodile that dwellest in the North, who feedest upon what is offered within the hours, for that which thou abominatest is in my belly; let not thy venom be upon my head, for I am Tem.

"Get thee back, O Crocodile that dwellest in the North, for the goddess Serget is in my belly and I have not yet brought her forth. I am Uatch-Maati (or Merti).

"The things which are created are in the hollow of my hand, and those which have not yet come into being are in my body.

"I am clothed and wholly provided with thy magical words, O Re, the which are in heaven above me and in the earth beneath me. I have gained power, and exaltation, and a full-breathing throat in the abode of my father Ur (*i.e.*, the Mighty One), and he hath delivered unto me the beautiful Amentet which destroyeth living men and women; but strong is its divine lord, who suffereth from weakness," or (as others say) "exhaustion twofold, therein day by day. My face is open, my heart is upon its seat, and the crown with the serpent is upon me day by day. I am Re, who is his own protector, and nothing shall ever cast me to the ground."

REPULSING SERPENTS

THE CHAPTER OF REPULSING SERPENTS (OR WORMS). Nu, the overseer of the palace, the chancellor-in-chief, triumphant, saith:

"Hail, thou serpent Rerek, advance not hither. Behold Seb and Shu. Stand still now, and thou shalt eat the rat which is an abominable thing unto Re, and thou shalt crunch the bones of the filthy cat."

AGAINST SNAKES

THE CHAPTER OF NOT LETTING OSIRIS NU, TRIUMPHANT, BE BITTEN BY SNAKES (OR WORMS) IN THE UNDERWORLD. He saith:

"O Serpent! I am the flame which shinest upon the Opener of hundreds of thousands of years, and the standard of the god Tenpu," or (as others say) "the standard of young plants and flowers. Depart ye from me, for I am the divine Maftet."

AGAINST SERPENTS

THE CHAPTER OF NOT LETTING NU, THE CHANCELLOR-IN-CHIEF, TRIUMPHANT, BE DEVOURED BY SERPENTS IN THE UNDERWORLD. He saith:

"Hail, thou god Shu! Behold Tattu! Behold Shu! Hail Tattu! Shu hath the headdress of the goddess Hathor. They nurse Osiris. Behold the twofold being who is about to eat me! Alighting from the boat I depart, and the serpent-fiend Seksek passeth me by. Behold *sam* and *aaqet* flowers are kept under guard. This being is Osiris, and he maketh entreaty for his tomb. The eyes of the divine prince are dropped, and he performeth the reparation which is to be done for thee; he giveth unto thee thy portion of right and truth according to the decision concerning the states and conditions of men."

DRIVING AWAY APSHAIT

THE CHAPTER OF DRIVING AWAY APSHAIT. Osiris Nu, the chancellor-in-chief, triumphant, saith:

"Depart from me, O thou that hast lips which gnaw, for I am Khnemu, the lord of Peshennu,³³ and I bring the words of the gods to Re, and I report my message to the lord thereof."

³³ Read, "the lord of the city of Shennu," *i.e.*, of Kom Ombos.

DRIVING BACK THE MERTI

THE CHAPTER OF DRIVING BACK THE TWO MERTI GODDESSES. Nu, the chancellor-in-chief, triumphant, saith:

"Homage to you, ye two *Rekht* goddesses,³⁴ ye two Sisters, ye two *Mert* goddesses, I bring a message to you concerning my magical words. I shine from the *Sektet* boat, I am Horus the son of Osiris, and I have come to see my father Osiris."

LIVING BY AIR

THE CHAPTER OF LIVING BY AIR IN THE UNDERWORLD. The scribe Nebseni, the lord to whom veneration is paid, saith:

"I am the god Tem, who cometh forth out of Nu into the watery abyss. I have received my habitation of Amentet, and have given commands with my words to the *Khus* whose abiding-places are hidden, to the *Khus* and to the double Lion-god. I have made journeys round about and I have sung hymns of joy in the boat of Khepera. I have eaten therein, I have gained power therein, and I live therein through the breezes which are there. I am the guide in the boat of Re, and he openeth out for me a path; he maketh a passage for me through the gates of the god Seb. I have seized and carried away those who live in the embrace of the god Ur (*i.e.*, Mighty One); I am the guide of those who live in their shrines, the two brother-gods Horus and Set; and I bring the noble ones with me. I enter in and I come forth, and my throat is not slit; I go into the boat of Maat, and I pass in among those who live in the *Atet* boat, and who are in the following of Re, and are nigh unto him in his horizon. I live after my death day by day, and I am strong even as is the double Lion-god. I live, and I am delivered after my death, I, the scribe Nebseni, the lord of piety, who fill the earth and come forth like the lily of mother-of-emerald, of the god Hetep of the two lands."

³⁴ The two opponent goddesses, or Isis and Nephthys.

LIVING BY AIR ³⁵

THE CHAPTER OF LIVING BY AIR IN THE UNDERWORLD. Nu, the overseer of the palace, the chancellor-in-chief, triumphant, the son of the overseer of the palace, the chancellor-in-chief, Amen-hetep, triumphant, saith:

"I am the double Lion-god, the first born of Re and Tem of Ha-khebti, the gods who dwell in their divine chambers. Those who dwell in their divine abodes have become my guides, and they make paths for me as they revolve in the watery abyss of the sky by the side of the path of the boat of Tem. I stand upon the timbers of the boat of Re, and I recite his ordinances to the beings who have knowledge, and I am the herald of his words to him whose throat stinketh. I set free my divine fathers at eventide. I close the lips of my mouth, and I eat like unto a living being. I have life in Tattu, and I live again after death like Re day by day."

DRIVING BACK REREK

THE CHAPTER OF DRIVING BACK THE SERPENT REREK IN THE UNDERWORLD. Osiris Mes-em-neter saith:

"Get thee back, depart, retreat from me, O Aapef, withdraw, or thou shalt be drowned at the Pool of Nu, at the place where thy father hath ordered that thy slaughter shall be performed. Depart thou from the divine place of birth of Re wherein is thy terror. I am Re who dwelleth in his terror. Get thee back, Fiend, before the darts of his beams. Re hath overthrown thy words, the gods have turned thy face backward, the Lynx hath torn open thy breast, the Scorpion hath cast fetters upon thee; and Maat hath sent forth thy destruction. Those who are in the ways have overthrown thee; fall down and depart, O Apep, thou Enemy of Re! O thou that passest over the region in the eastern part of heaven with the sound of the roaring thunder-cloud, O Re who

³⁵ This is apparently another version of the preceding chapter. But it is taken from the Papyrus of Nu, which gives a wholly different form from the preceding.

openest the gates of the horizon straightway on thy appearance, Apep hath sunk helpless under thy gashings. I have performed thy will, O Re, I have performed thy will; I have done that which is fair, I have done that which is fair, I have labored for the peace of Re. I have made to advance thy fetters, O Re, and Apep hath fallen through thy drawing them tight. The gods of the south and of the north, of the west and of the east have fastened chains upon him, and they have fettered him with fetters; the god Rekes hath overthrown him and the god Hertit hath put him in chains. Re setteth, Re setteth; Re is strong at his setting. Apep hath fallen, Apep, the enemy of Re, departeth. Greater is the punishment which hath been inflicted on thee than the sting which is in the Scorpion goddess, and mightily hath she, whose course is everlasting, worked it upon thee and with deadly effect. Thou shalt never enjoy the delights of love, thou shalt never fulfil thy desire, O Apep, thou Enemy of Re! He maketh thee to go back, O thou who are hateful to Re; he looketh upon thee, get thee back! He pierceth thy head, he cutteth through thy face, he divideth thy head at the two sides of the ways, and it is crushed in his land; thy bones are smashed in pieces, thy members are hacked off thee and the god Aker hath condemned thee, O Apep, thou enemy of Re! Thy mariners are those who keep the reckoning for thee, O Re, as thou advancest, and thou restest there wherein are the offerings made to thee. As thou advancest, as thou advancest toward the House the advance which thou hast made toward the House is a prosperous advance; let not any baleful obstacle proceed from thy mouth against me when thou workest on my behalf. I am Set who let loose the storm-clouds and the thunder in the horizon of heaven even as doth the god Netcheb-ab-f.

“‘Hail,’ saith the god Tem, ‘make strong your faces, O soldiers of Re, for I have driven back the god Nentcha in the presence of the divine sovereign princes.’ ‘Hail,’ saith the god Seb, ‘make ye firm those who are upon their seats which are in the boat of Khepera, take ye your ways, grasping your weapons of war in your hands.’ ‘Hail,’ saith Hathor, ‘take

ye your armor.' 'Hail,' saith Nut, 'come and repulse the god Tcha who pursueth him that dwelleth in his shrine and who setteth out on his way alone, namely, Neb-er-teher, who can not be repulsed.' 'Hail,' say those gods who dwell in their companies and who go round about the Turquoise Pool, 'come, O mighty One, we praise and we will deliver the Mighty One who dwelleth in the divine Shrine, from whom proceeds the company of the gods, let commemorations be made for him, let praise be given to him, let words of praise be recited before him by you and by me.' 'Hail,' saith Nut to thy Sweet One. 'Hail,' say those who dwell among the gods, 'he cometh forth, he findeth his way, he maketh captives among the gods, he hath taken possession of the goddess Nut, and Seb standeth up.' Hail, thou terrible one, the company of the gods is on the march. Hathor quaketh with terror, and Re hath triumphed over Apep."

REPULSING THE EATER OF THE ASS

THE CHAPTER OF DRIVING BACK THE EATER OF THE ASS.
Osiris Re, triumphant, saith:

I. "Get thee back, Hai, thou impure one, thou abomination of Osiris! Thoth hath cut off thy head, and I have performed upon thee all the things which the company of the gods ordered concerning thee in the matter of the work of thy slaughter. Get thee back, thou abomination of Osiris, from the *Neshmet* boat . . . which advanceth with a fair wind. Ye are holy, O all ye gods, and ye have cast down headlong the enemies of Osiris; the gods of Ta-ur shout for joy. Get thee back, O thou Eater of the Ass, thou abomination of the god Haas who dwelleth in the underworld. I know thee, I know thee, I know thee, I know thee. Who art thou? I am . . .

II. "On thy face, O fiend, and devour me not, for I am pure, and I am with the time which cometh of itself. Thou shalt not come to me, O thou that comest without being invoked, and whose time of coming is unknown. I am the lord of thy mouth, get thee back, thou and thy desires. Hail,

Haas, with his stone knife Horus hath cut asunder thy members, and thou art destroyed within thy company, and thy bend (or dwelling-place) is destroyed for thee by the company of thy gods who dwell in the cities of Pe and Tep. He that slayeth thee, there is in the form of the Eye of Horus, and I have driven thee away as thou wast advancing, and I have vanquished thee by the winds of my mouth. O thou Eater of those who commit sins, who dost plunder and spoil, I have committed no sin; therefore, let my palette and the writings with hostile charges against me upon them be given unto me. I have done no wrong in the presence of the sovereign princes, therefore shoot not thy venom at me. I give, do thou take according to what I order; snatch me not away, and eat me not, for I am the lord of life, the Prince (life, health, strength!) of the horizon."

ABOLISHING THE SLAUGHTERINGS

THE CHAPTER OF DRIVING AWAY THE SLAUGHTERINGS WHICH ARE PERFORMED IN THE UNDERWORLD. Nebseni, the scribe and designer in the Temples of Upper and Lower Egypt, he to whom fair veneration is paid, the son of the scribe and artist Thena, triumphant, saith:

"Hail, Tem, I have become glorious (or a *Khu*) in the presence of the double Lion-god, the great god, therefore open thou unto me the gate of the god Seb. I smell the earth (*i.e.*, I bow down so that my nose toucheth the ground) of the great god who dwelleth in the underworld, and I advance into the presence of the company of the gods who dwell with the beings who are in the underworld. Hail, thou guardian of the divine door of the city of Beta, thou god Neti, who dwellest in Amentet, I eat food, and I have life through the air, and the god Atch-ur leadeth me with him to the mighty boat of Khepera. I hold converse with the divine mariners at eventide, I enter in, I go forth, and I see the being who is there; I lift him up, and I say that which I have to say unto him, whose throat stinketh for lack of air. I have life, and I am delivered, having lain down in death. Hail, thou that

bringest offerings and oblations, bring forward thy mouth and make to draw nigh the writings (or lists) of offerings and oblations. Set thou Right and Truth firmly upon their throne, make thou the writings to draw nigh, and set thou up the goddesses in the presence of Osiris, the mighty god, the Prince of everlastingness, who counteth his years, who harkeneth unto those who are in the islands (or pools), who raiseth his right shoulder, who judgeth the divine princes, and who sendeth Osiris into the presence of the great sovereign princes who live in the underworld."

ABOLISHING THE SLAUGHTERINGS

THE CHAPTER OF DRIVING BACK THE SLAUGHTERINGS WHICH ARE PERFORMED IN SUTEN-HENEN. Osiris Nu, triumphant, saith:

"O thou land of the scepter! (literally, wood). O thou white crown of the divine form! O thou resting-place of the boat! I am the Child, I am the Child, I am the Child, I am the Child. Hail, Abu-ur, thou sayest day by day: 'The slaughter-block is made ready as thou knowest, and thou hast come to decay.' I am Re, the stablisher of those who praise him. I am the knot of the god within the *Aser* tree, the doubly beautiful one, who is more splendid than yesterday (say four times). I am Re, the stablisher of those who praise him. I am the knot of the god within the *Aser* tree, and my going forth is the going forth of Re on this day.

"My hair is the hair of Nu. My face is the face of the Disk. My eyes are the eyes of Hathor. My ears are the ears of Ap-uat. My nose is the nose of Khenti-khas. My lips are the lips of Anpu. My teeth are the teeth of Serqet. My neck is the neck of the divine goddess Isis. My hands are the hands of Ba-neb-Tattu. My forearms are the forearms of Neith, the Lady of Sais. My backbone is the backbone of Suti. My phallus is the phallus of Osiris. My reins are the reins of the Lords of Kher-aba. My chest is the chest of the Mighty one of Terror. My belly and back are the belly and back of Sekhet. My buttocks are the buttocks of

the Eye of Horus. My hips and legs are the hips and legs of Nut. My feet are the feet of Ptah. My fingers and my leg-bones are the fingers and leg-bones of the living Gods. There is no member of my body which is not the member of some god. The god Thoth shieldeth my body altogether, and I am Re day by day. I shall not be dragged back by my arms, and none shall lay violent hold upon my hands. And shall do me hurt neither men, nor gods, nor the sainted dead, nor those who have perished, nor any one of those of ancient times, nor any mortal, nor any human being. I am he who cometh forth, advancing, whose name is unknown. I am Yesterday, and Seer of millions of years is my name. I pass along, I pass along the paths of the divine celestial judges. I am the lord of eternity, and I decree and I judge like the god Khepera. I am the lord of the *Ureret* crown. I am he who dwelleth in the *Utchat* and in the Egg, in the *Utchat* and in the Egg, and it is given unto me to live with them. I am he that dwelleth in the *Utchat* when it closeth, and I exist by the strength thereof. I come forth and I shine; I enter in and I come to life. I am in the *Utchat*, my seat is upon my throne, and I sit in the abode of splendor before it. I am Horus and I traverse millions of years. I have given the decree for the stablishing of my throne and I am the ruler thereof; and in very truth my mouth keepeth an even balance both in speech and in silence. In very truth, my forms are inverted. I am Un-nefer, from one season even unto another, and what I have is within me; I am the only One, who proceedeth from an only One who goeth round about in his course. I am he who dwelleth in the *Utchat*; no evil thing of any form or kind shall spring up against me, and no baleful object, and no harmful thing, and no disastrous thing shall happen unto me. I open the door in heaven, I govern my throne, and I open up the way for the births which take place on this day. I am the child who marcheth along the road of Yesterday. I am To-day for untold nations and peoples. I am he who protecteth you for millions of years, and whether ye be denizens of the heavens, or of the earth, or of the south, or of the north, or of the east, or of the

west, the fear of me is in your bodies. I am he whose being has been molded in his eye, and I shall not die again. My movement is in your bodies, but my arms are in my place of habitation. I am he who can not be known, but the Red Ones have their faces directed toward me. I am the unveiled one. The season wherein the god created the heavens for me and enlarged the bounds of the earth and made great the progeny thereof can not be found out; but they fail and are not united again. My name setteth itself apart from all things and from the great evil which is in the mouths of men by reason of the speech which I address unto you. I am he who riseth and shineth, the walls which cometh out of a wall, an only One who proceedeth from an only One. There is never a day that passeth without the things which appertain unto him being therein; passing, passing, passing, passing. Verily I say unto thee, I am the Sprout which cometh forth from Nu, and my Mother is Nut. Hail, O my Creator, I am he who hath no power to walk, the great Knot who is within yesterday. The might of my strength is within my hand. I myself am not known, but I am he who knoweth thee. I can not be held with the hand, but I am he who can hold thee in his hand. Hail, O Egg! Hail, O Egg! I am Horus who liveth for millions of years, whose flame shineth upon you and bringeth your hearts to me. I have the command of my throne and I advance at this season, I have opened a path, and I have delivered myself from all evil things. I am the dog-headed ape of gold three palms and two fingers high, which hath neither arms nor legs and dwelleth in Het-ka-Ptah (Memphis), and I go forth as goeth forth the dog-headed ape that dwelleth in Het-ka-Ptah."

AIR AND WATER ³⁶

THE CHAPTER OF SNUFFING THE AIR AND OF HAVING THE MASTERY OVER THE WATER IN THE UNDERWORLD. The overseer of the palace, the chancellor-in-chief, Nu, triumphant, saith:

³⁶ From the Papyrus of Nu.

"Hail, Hap-ur, god of heaven, in thy name of 'Divider of heaven,' grant thou unto me that I may have dominion over the water, even as the goddess Sekhet had power over Osiris on the night of the storms and floods. Grant thou that I may have power over the divine princes who have their habitations in the place of the god of the inundation, even as they have power over their own holy god of whose name they are ignorant; and may they let me have power even as he hath let them have power.

"My nostrils are opened in Tattu," or (as others say), "My mouth and my nostrils are opened in Tatau, and I have my place of peace in Annu, which is my house; it was built for me by the goddess Sesheta, and the god Khnemu set it up for me upon its walls. If to this heaven it cometh by the north, I sit at the south; if to this heaven it cometh by the south, I sit at the north; if to this heaven it cometh by the west, I sit at the east; and if to this heaven it cometh by the east, I sit at the west. I draw the hair of my nostrils, and I make my way into every place in which I wish to sit."

[In the Papyrus of Nefer-uben-f this chapter ends quite differently, and reads:]

"I am strong in my mouth and in my nostrils, for behold Tem has stablished them; behold, O ye gods and *Khus*. Rest thou, then, O Tem. Behold the staff which blossometh, and which cometh forth when a man crieth out in your names. Behold, I am Tem, the tree of the gods in their visible forms. Let me not be turned back . . . I am the *Am-khent*, Nefer-uben-f, triumphant. Let neither my flesh nor my members be gashed with knives, let me not be wounded by knives by you.

"I have come, I have been judged, I have come forth therein, I have power with my father, the Old man, Nu. He hath granted that I may live, he hath given strength unto me, and he hath provided me with the inheritance of my father therein."

DOMINION OVER ELEMENTS ³⁷

THE CHAPTER OF BREATHING THE AIR AND OF HAVING DOMINION OVER THE WATER IN THE UNDERWORLD. Osiris Ani saith:

"Open to me." Who art thou? Whither goest thou? What is thy name? "I am one of you." Who are those with thee? "The two serpent goddesses *Merti*. Separate thou from him, head from head, when thou goest into the divine *Mesgen* chamber. He letteth me set out for the temple of the gods who have found their faces. 'Assembler of Souls' is the name of my boat; 'Making the hair to stand on end' is the name of the oars; 'Goad' is the name of the hold; 'Making straight for the middle' is the name of the rudder; likewise the boat is a type of my being borne onward in the pool. Let there be given unto me vessels of milk, together with cakes, and loaves of bread, and cups of drink, and flesh in the Temple of Anpu."

IF HE (*i.e.*, THE DECEASED) KNOWETH THIS CHAPTER, HE SHALL GO INTO, AFTER COMING FORTH FROM, THE UNDERWORLD OF THE BEAUTIFUL AMENTET.

DOMINION OVER ELEMENTS ³⁸

THE CHAPTER OF SNUFFING THE AIR, AND OF HAVING DOMINION OVER THE WATERS IN THE UNDERWORLD. Osiris Ani saith:

"Hail, thou sycamore-tree of the goddess Nut! Grant thou to me of the water and of the air which dwell in thee. I embrace the throne which is in Unnu (Hermopolis), and I watch and guard the egg of Nekek-ur (*i.e.*, the Great Cackler). It groweth, I grow; it liveth, I live; it snuffeth the air, I snuff the air, I the Osiris Ani, in triumph."

³⁷ From the Papyrus of Ani.

³⁸ From the Papyrus of Ani.

DOMINION OVER ELEMENTS ³⁹

ANOTHER CHAPTER. Osiris Auf-ankh, triumphant, saith:

"Let the gates of heaven be opened for me by the god Thoth and by Hapi, and let me pass through the doors of Taqebh ⁴⁰ into the great heaven," or (as others say), "at the time," or (as others say), "with the strength of Re. Grant ye, O Thoth and Hapi, that I may have power over the water, even as Set had power over his enemies on the day when there were storms and rain upon the earth. Let me have power over the divine beings who have mighty arms in their shoulders, even as the god who is appareled in splendor and whose name is unknown had power over them; and may I have power over the beings whose arms are mighty."

PRESERVATION OF THE SOUL

THE CHAPTER OF NOT LETTING THE SOUL OF A MAN BE TAKEN FROM HIM IN THE UNDERWORLD. Osiris, the scribe Ani, saith:

"I, even I, am he who came forth from the water-flood which I make to overflow, and which becometh mighty as the river Nile."

OF DRINKING WATER ⁴¹

THE CHAPTER OF DRINKING WATER IN THE UNDERWORLD. The scribe Nebseni . . . saith:

"May be opened to me the mighty flood by Osiris, and may the abyss of water be opened to me by Tehuti-Hapi, the lord of the horizon, in my name of 'Opener.' May there be granted to me mastery over the watercourses as over the members of Set. I go forth into heaven. I am the Lion-

³⁹ From Lepsius, "*Todtenbuch*."

⁴⁰ *I.e.*, the "land of cold and refreshing water."

⁴¹ The last three chapters, with a single vignette, are grouped in one in the Papyrus of Nefer-uben-f; but the order of them as there given is different. In the Turin Papyrus the vignette of each is the same, *i.e.*, the deceased holding a sail in his left hand.

god Re. I am the Bull. I have eaten the Thigh, and I have divided the carcass. I have gone round about among the islands (or lakes) of Sekhet-Aaru. Indefinite time, without beginning and without end, hath been given to me; I inherit eternity, and everlastingness hath been bestowed upon me."

OF DRINKING WATER

THE CHAPTER OF DRINKING WATER AND OF NOT BEING BURNT BY FIRE IN THE UNDERWORLD. The overseer of the palace, the chancellor-in-chief, Nu, triumphant, saith:

"Hail, Bull of Amentet! I am brought unto thee, I am the oar of Re wherewith he ferried over the divine aged ones; let me neither be burnt up nor destroyed by fire. I am Bet, the first-born son of Osiris, who doth meet every god within his Eye in Annu. I am the divine Heir, the exalted one, the Mighty One, the Resting One. I have made my name to germinate, I have delivered it, and thou shalt live through me day by day."

PRESERVATION FROM SCALDING

THE CHAPTER OF NOT BEING SCALDED WITH WATER. The overseer of the palace, the chancellor-in-chief, Nu, triumphant, saith:

"I am the oar made ready for rowing, wherewith Re transported the boat containing the divine ancestors, and lifted up the moist emanations of Osiris from the Lake of Fire, and he was not burned. I lie down like a divine *Khu*, and like Khnemu who dwelleth among lions. Come, break away the restraints from him that passeth by the side of this path, and let me come forth by it."

ON COMING FORTH BY DAY IN THE UNDERWORLD

THE CHAPTER OF COMING FORTH BY DAY IN THE UNDERWORLD. Nebseni, the lord of reverence, saith:

"I am Yesterday, To-day, and To-morrow, and I have the

power to be born a second time; I am the divine hidden Soul who createth the gods, and who giveth sepulchral meals unto the denizens of the Tuat (underworld), Amentet, and heaven. I am the rudder of the east, the possessor of two divine faces wherein his beams are seen. I am the lord of the men who are raised up; the lord who cometh forth from out of the darkness, and whose forms of existence are of the house wherein are the dead. Hail, ye two hawks who are perched upon your resting-places, who harken unto the things which are said by him, who guide the bier to the hidden place, who lead along Re, and who follow him into the uppermost place of the shrine which is in the celestial heights! Hail, lord of the shrine which standeth in the middle of the earth. He is I, and I am he, and Ptah hath covered his sky with crystal. Hail, Re, thou who art content, thy heart is glad by reason of thy beautiful law of the day; thou enterest in by Khemennu and comest forth at the east, and the divine first-born beings who are in thy presence cry out with gladness unto thee. Make thou thy roads glad for me, and make broad for me thy paths when I shall set out from earth for the life in the celestial regions. Send forth thy light upon me, O Soul unknown, for I am one of those who are about to enter in, and the divine speech is in my ears in the Tuat (underworld), and let no defects of my mother be imputed unto me; let me be delivered and let me be safe from him whose divine eyes sleep at eventide, when he gathereth together and finisheth the day in night. I flood the land with water, and 'Qem-ur' is my name, and the garment wherewith I am clothed is complete. Hail, thou divine prince Ati-she-f, cry out unto those divine beings who dwell in their hair at the season when the god is lifted upon the shoulder, saying: 'Come thou who dwellest above thy divine abyss of water, for verily the thigh of the sacrifice is tied to the neck, and the buttocks are laid upon the head of Amentet.'

"May the Ur-urti goddesses (*i.e.*, Isis and Nephthys) grant such gifts unto me when my tears start from me as I see myself journeying with the divine Tena in Abydos, and the wooden fastenings which fasten the four doors above thee are

in thy power within thy garment. Thy face is like that of a greyhound which scenteth with his nose the place whither I go on my feet. The god Akau transporteth me to the chamber, and my nurse is the divine double Lion-god himself. I am made strong and I come forth like him that forceth a way through the gate, and the radiance which my heart hath made is enduring; 'I know the abysses' is thy name. I work for you, O ye *Khus* — 4,000,000, 600,000, 1,000, and 200 are they — concerning the things which are there. I am over their affairs working for hours and days in setting straight the shoulders of the twelve Sah gods, and joining the hands of their company, each to each; the sixth who is at the head of the abyss is the hour of the defeat of the Fiends. I have come there in triumph, and I am he who is in the halls (or courtyards) of the underworld, and I am he who is laid under tribute to Shu. I rise as the Lord of Life through the beautiful law of this day, and it is their blood and the cool water of their slaughter which make the union of the earth to blossom. I make a way among the horns of all those who make themselves strong against me, and among those who in secret make themselves adversaries unto me, and who are upon their bellies. I have come as the envoy of my Lord of lords to give counsel concerning Osiris; the eye shall not absorb its tears. I am the divine envoy of the house of him that dwelleth in his possessions, and I have come from Sekhem to Annu to make known to the *Bennu* bird therein concerning the events of the Tuat (underworld). Hail, thou Aukert (*i.e.*, underworld) which hidest thy companion who is in thee, thou creator of forms of existence like the god Khepera, grant thou that Nebseni, the scribe and designer to the temples of the South and of the North, may come forth to see the Disk, and that his journeyings forth may be in the presence of the great god, that is to say Shu, who dwelleth in everlastingness. Let me journey on in peace; let me pass over the sky; let me adore the radiance of the splendor which is in my sight; let me soar like a bird to see the companies of the *Khus* in the presence of Re day by day, who vivifieth every human being that walketh upon the regions which are

upon the earth. Hail, Hemti (*i.e.*, Runner); Hail, Hemti; who carriest away the shades of the dead and the *Khus* from earth, grant thou unto me a prosperous way to the Tuat (underworld), such as is made for the favored ones of the god, because I am helpless to gather together the emanations which come from me. Who art thou, then, who consumest in its hidden place? I am the Chief in Re-stau, and 'He that goeth in in his own name and cometh forth in that of Hehi, the lord of millions of years, and of the earth,' is my name.

"The pregnant goddess hath deposited upon the earth her load, and hath given birth to Hit straightway; the closed door which is by the wall is overthrown, it is turned upside down and I rejoice thereat. To the Mighty One hath his eye been given, and it sendeth forth light from his face when the earth becometh light (or at daybreak). I shall not become corrupt, but I shall come into being in the form of the Lion-god and like the blossoms of Shu; I am the being who is never overwhelmed in the waters. Happy, yea happy is he that looked upon the funeral couch which hath come to its place of rest, upon the happy day of the god whose heart resteth, who maketh his place of alighting thereon. I am he who cometh forth by day; the lord of the bier which giveth life in the presence of Osiris. In very truth the things which are thine are stable each day, O scribe, artist, child of the *Seshet* chamber, Nebseni, lord of veneration. I clasp the sycamore-tree, I myself am joined unto the sycamore-tree, and its arms are opened unto me graciously. I have come and I have clasped the *Utchat*, and I have caused it to be seated in peace upon its throne. I have come to see Re when he setteth, and I absorb into myself the winds which arise when he cometh forth, and both my hands are clean to adore him. I have gathered together all my members, I have gathered together all my members. I soar like a bird and I descend upon the earth, and mine eyes maketh me to walk thereon in my footsteps. I am the child of yesterday, and the Akeru gods of the earth have made me to come into being, and they have made me strong for my moment of coming

forth. I hide with the god Aba-aaiu who will walk behind me, and my members shall germinate, and my *kh*u shall be as an amulet for my body and as one who watcheth to protect my soul and to defend it and to converse therewith; and the company of the gods shall harken unto my words."

IF THIS CHAPTER BE KNOWN BY THE DECEASED HE SHALL BE VICTORIOUS BOTH UPON EARTH AND IN THE UNDERWORLD. HE SHALL DO WHATSOEVER A MAN DOETH WHO IS UPON THE EARTH, AND HE SHALL PERFORM ALL THE DEEDS WHICH THOSE DO WHO ARE ALIVE. NOW IT IS A GREAT PROTECTION GIVEN BY THE GOD. THIS CHAPTER WAS FOUND IN THE CITY OF KHE-MENNU INSCRIBED UPON THE BLOCK OF IRON IN LETTERS OF LAPIS LAZULI WHICH WAS UNDER THE FEET OF THIS GOD.⁴²

CHAPTER OF KNOWLEDGE

THE CHAPTER OF KNOWING THE "CHAPTERS OF COMING FORTH BY DAY" IN A SINGLE CHAPTER. The overseer of the palace, the chancellor-in-chief, Osiris Nu, triumphant, begotten of the overseer of the palace, Amen-hetep, triumphant, saith:

"I am Yesterday and To-morrow; and I have the power to be born a second time. I am the divine hidden Soul, who createth the gods and who giveth sepulchral meals to the divine hidden beings in the Tuat (underworld), in Amenti, and in heaven. I am the rudder of the east, the possessor of two divine faces wherein his beams are seen. I am the lord of those who are raised up, the lord who cometh forth from out of the darkness. Hail, ye two divine Hawks who are perched upon your resting-places, and who harken unto the things which are said by him, the thigh of the sacrifice is tied to the neck, and the buttocks are laid upon the head of Amentet. May the Ur-urti goddesses (*i.e.*, Isis and Neph-

⁴² In the rubric to this chapter as found in the Papyrus of Mes-emet, the chapter is said to have been "discovered in the foundations of the shrine of the divine Henu boat by the chief mason in the time of the King of the North and of the South, Hesepti, triumphant." Hesepti was a king of the First Dynasty.

thys) grant such gifts unto me when my tears start from me as I look on. 'I know the abysses' is thy name. I work for you, O ye *Khus*, who are in number four millions, six hundred, and 1,000, and 200, and they are in height twelve cubits. We travel on joining the hands, each to each, but the sixth hour, which belongeth at the head of the Tuat (underworld), is the hour of the overthrow of the Fiend. I have come there in triumph, and I am he who is in the hall (or courtyards) of the Tuat; and the seven come in his manifestations.

"The strength which protecteth me is that which hath my *Ka* under its protection, that is the blood, and the cool water, and the slaughterings which abound. I open a way among the horns of all those who would do harm unto me, who keep themselves hidden, who make themselves adversaries unto me, and those who are upon their bellies. The Eye shall not eat (or absorb) the tears of the goddess Aukert. Hail, goddess Aukert, open thou unto me the enclosed place, and grant thou unto me pleasant roads whereupon I may travel. Who art thou, then, who consumest in the hidden places? I am the Chief in Re-stau, and I go in and come forth in my name of 'Hehi, the lord of millions of years and of the earth'; I am the maker of my name. The pregnant one hath deposited upon the earth her load. The door by the wall is shut fast, and the things of terror are overturned and thrown down upon the backbone of the *Bennu* bird by the two *Samait* goddesses. To the Mighty One hath his Eye been given, and his face emitteth light when he illumineth the earth; my name is his name. I shall not become corrupt, but I shall come into being in the form of the Lion-god; the blossoms of Shu shall be in me. I am he who is never overwhelmed in the waters. Happy, yea happy, is the funeral couch of the Still-heart; he maketh himself to alight upon the pool, and verily he cometh forth therefrom. I am the lord of my life. I have come to this place, and I have come forth from Re-aa-urt, the city of Osiris. Verily the things which are thine are with the *Sariu* deities. I have clasped the sycamore-tree and I have divided it; I have opened a way

for myself among the *Sekhiu* gods of the Tuat. I have come to see him that dwelleth in his divine uræus, face to face and eye to eye, and I draw to myself the winds which rise when he cometh forth. My two eyes are weak in my face, O Lion-god, Babe, who dwellest in Utent. Thou art in me and I am in thee; and thy attributes are my attributes. I am the god of the Inundation (*Bah*), and 'Qem-ur-she' is my name. My forms are the forms of the god Khepera, the hair of the earth of Tem, the hair of the earth of Tem. I have entered in as a man of no understanding, and I shall come forth in the form of a strong *ka*, and I shall look upon my form which shall be that of men and women forever and forever."

IF THIS CHAPTER BE KNOWN BY A MAN HE SHALL COME FORTH BY DAY, AND HE SHALL NOT BE REPULSED AT ANY GATE OF THE TUAT (UNDERWORLD), EITHER IN GOING IN OR IN COMING OUT. HE SHALL PERFORM ALL THE TRANSFORMATIONS WHICH HIS HEART SHALL DESIRE FOR HIM AND HE SHALL NOT DIE; BEHOLD, THE SOUL OF THIS MAN SHALL FLOURISH. AND MOREOVER, IF HE KNOW THIS CHAPTER HE SHALL BE VICTORIOUS UPON EARTH AND IN THE UNDERWORLD, AND HE SHALL PERFORM EVERY ACT OF A LIVING HUMAN BEING. NOW IT IS A GREAT PROTECTION WHICH HATH BEEN GIVEN BY THE GOD. THIS CHAPTER WAS FOUND IN THE FOUNDATIONS OF THE SHRINE OF HENNU BY THE CHIEF MASON DURING THE REIGN OF HIS MAJESTY THE KING OF THE NORTH AND OF THE SOUTH, HESEPTI, TRIUMPHANT, WHO CARRIED IT AWAY AS A MYSTERIOUS OBJECT WHICH HAD NEVER BEFORE BEEN SEEN OR LOOKED UPON. THIS CHAPTER SHALL BE RECITED BY A MAN WHO IS CEREMONIALLY CLEAN AND PURE, WHO HATH NOT EATEN THE FLESH OF ANIMALS OR FISH, AND WHO HATH NOT HAD INTERCOURSE WITH WOMEN.

⁴³ IF THIS CHAPTER BE KNOWN BY THE DECEASED HE SHALL BE VICTORIOUS BOTH UPON EARTH AND IN THE UNDERWORLD, AND HE SHALL PERFORM EVERY ACT OF A LIVING HUMAN BEING. NOW IT IS A GREAT PROTECTION WHICH HATH BEEN GIVEN BY THE GOD.

THIS CHAPTER WAS FOUND IN THE CITY OF KHEMENNU,

⁴³ From Papyrus of Nu, sheet 21.

UPON A BLOCK OF IRON OF THE SOUTH, WHICH HAD BEEN INLAID WITH LETTERS OF REAL LAPIS LAZULI, UNDER THE FEET OF THE GOD DURING THE REIGN OF HIS MAJESTY, THE KING OF THE NORTH AND OF THE SOUTH, MEN-KAU-RA (MYCERINUS), TRIUMPHANT, BY THE ROYAL SON HERU-TA-TA-F,⁴⁴ TRIUMPHANT; HE FOUND IT WHEN HE WAS JOURNEYING ABOUT TO MAKE AN INSPECTION OF THE TEMPLES. ONE NEKHT WAS WITH HIM WHO WAS DILIGENT IN MAKING HIM TO UNDERSTAND IT, AND HE BROUGHT IT TO THE KING AS A WONDERFUL OBJECT WHEN HE SAW THAT IT WAS A THING OF GREAT MYSTERY, WHICH HAD NEVER BEFORE BEEN SEEN OR LOOKED UPON.

THIS CHAPTER SHALL BE RECITED BY A MAN WHO IS CEREMONIALLY CLEAN AND PURE, WHO HATH NOT EATEN THE FLESH OF ANIMALS OR FISH, AND WHO HATH NOT HAD INTERCOURSE WITH WOMEN. AND BEHOLD, THOU SHALT MAKE A SCARAB OF GREEN STONE, WITH A RIM PLATED WITH GOLD, WHICH SHALL BE PLACED IN THE HEART OF A MAN, AND IT SHALL PERFORM FOR HIM THE "OPENING OF THE MOUTH." AND THOU SHALT ANOINT IT WITH ANTI UNGENT, AND THOU SHALT RECITE OVER IT THESE ENCHANTMENTS:⁴⁵

OF GAINING MASTERY OVER ENEMIES

THE CHAPTER OF COMING FORTH BY DAY AND OF GAINING THE MASTERY OVER ENEMIES. The chancellor-in-chief, Nu, saith:

"Re sitteth in his habitation of millions of years, and he hath gathered together the company of the gods, with those divine beings, whose faces are hidden, who dwell in the Temple of Khepera, who eat the god Bah, and who drink the drink-offerings which are brought into the celestial regions of light; and conversely. Grant that I may take possession of

⁴⁴ He was the son of Khufu, the builder of the Great Pyramid at Gizeh.

⁴⁵ Here follows the text of the earlier Chapter of "Preserving the Heart."

the captives of Osiris, and never let me have my being among the fiends of Suti! Hail, let me sit upon his folds in the habitation of the god User-ba (*i.e.*, he of the strong Soul)! Grant thou that I may sit upon the throne of Re, and let me have possession of my body before the god Seb. Grant thou that Osiris may come forth triumphant over Suti and over the night-watchers of Suti, and over the night-watchers of the Crocodile, yea, the night-watchers of the Crocodile, whose faces are hidden and who dwell in the divine Temple of the King of the North in the apparel of the gods on the sixth day of the festival, whose snares are like unto everlastingness and whose cords are like unto eternity. I have seen the god Abet-ka placing the cord; the child is laid in fetters, and the rope of the god Ab-ka is drawn tight. . . . Behold me. I am born, and I come forth in the form of a living *Khu*, and the human beings who are upon the earth ascribe praise unto me.

“Hail, Mer, who doest these things for me, and who art put an end to by the vigor of Re, grant thou that I may see Re; grant thou that I may come forth against my enemies; and grant thou that I may be victorious over them in the presence of the sovereign princes of the great god who are in the presence of the great god. If, repulsing me, thou dost not allow me to come forth against my Enemy and to be victorious over him before the sovereign princes, then may Hapi — who liveth upon law and order — not come forth into heaven — now he liveth by Maat — and may Re — who feedeth upon fish — not descend into the waters! And then, verily shall Re — who feedeth upon right and order — come forth into heaven, and then, verily, shall Hapi — who feedeth upon fish — descend into the waters; and then, verily, the great day upon earth shall not be in its season. I have come against my Enemy, he hath been given unto me, he hath come to an end, and I have gotten possession of him before the sovereign princes.”

VICTORY OVER ENEMIES

THE CHAPTER OF COMING FORTH BY DAY AND OF GAINING THE MASTERY OVER ENEMIES.

"Hail, thou who shinest from the Moon and who sendest forth light therefrom, thou comest forth among thy multitudes, and thou goes round about, let me rise," or (as others say), "let me be brought in among the *Khus*, and let the underworld be opened unto me. Behold, I have come forth on this day, and I have become a *Khu* (or a shining being); therefore shall the *Khus* let me live, and they shall cause my enemies to be brought to me in a state of misery in the presence of the divine sovereign princes. The divine *ka* (double) of my mother shall rest in peace because of this, and I shall stand upon my feet and have a staff of gold," or (as others say), "a rod of gold in my hand, wherewith I shall inflict cuts on the limbs of mine enemy and shall live. The legs of Sothis are stablished and I am born in their state of rest."

COMING FORTH BY DAY ⁴⁶

THE CHAPTER OF COMING FORTH BY DAY. The scribe Mahu saith:

"I have knowledge. I was conceived by the goddess Sekhet, and the goddess Neith gave birth to me; I am Horus, and I have come forth from the Eye of Horus. I am Uatchit who came forth from Horus. I am Horus and I fly up and perch myself upon the forehead of Re in the bows of his boat which is in heaven."

OPENING THE UNDERWORLD

THE CHAPTER OF OPENING THE UNDERWORLD. The overseer of the palace, the chancellor-in-chief, Nu, triumphant, saith:

"The chamber of those who dwell in Nu is opened, and the

⁴⁶ From the Papyrus of Amen-em-heb.

footsteps of those who dwell with the god of Light are set free. The chamber of Shu is opened, and he cometh forth; and I shall come forth outside, and I shall advance from my territory, I shall receive . . . and I shall lay firm hold upon the tribute in the House of the Chief of his dead. I shall advance to my throne which is in the boat of Re. I shall not be molested, and I shall not suffer shipwreck from my throne which is in the boat of Re, the mighty one. Hail thou that shinest and givest light from Hent-she!"

COMING FORTH BY DAY ⁴⁷

THE CHAPTER OF COMING FORTH BY DAY. The overseer of the palace, the chancellor-in-chief, Nu, triumphant, saith:

"The doors of heaven are opened for me, the doors of earth are opened for me, the bars and bolts of Seb are opened for me, and the first temple hath been unfastened for me by the god Petra. Behold, I was guarded and watched, but now I am released; behold, his hand had tied cords round me and his hand had darted upon me in the earth. Re-hent hath been opened for me and Re-hent hath been unfastened before me, Re-hent hath been given unto me, and I shall come forth by day into whatsoever place I please. I have gained the mastery over my heart; I have gained the mastery over my breast; I have gained the mastery over my two hands; I have gained the mastery over my two feet; I have gained the mastery over my mouth; I have gained the mastery over my whole body; I have gained the mastery over sepulchral offerings; I have gained the mastery over the waters; I have gained the mastery over the air; I have gained the mastery over the canal; I have gained the mastery over the river and over the land; I have gained the mastery over the furrows; I have gained the mastery over the male workers for me; I have gained the mastery over the female workers for me in the underworld; I have gained the mastery over all the things which were ordered to be done for me upon the earth, accord-

⁴⁷ From the Papyrus of Nu.

ing to the entreaty which ye spake for me saying, 'Behold, let him live upon the bread of Seb.' That which is an abomination unto me, I shall not eat; nay, I shall live upon cakes made of white grain, and my ale shall be made of the red grain of Hapi (*i.e.*, the Nile). In a clean place shall I sit on the ground beneath the foliage of the date-palm of the goddess Hathor, who dwelleth in the spacious Disk as it advanceth to Annu (Heliopolis), having the books of the divine words of the writings of the god Thoth. I have gained the mastery over my heart; I have gained the mastery over my heart's place (or breast); I have gained the mastery over my mouth; I have gained the mastery over my two hands; I have gained the mastery over the waters; I have gained the mastery over the canal; I have gained the mastery over the river; I have gained the mastery over the furrows; I have gained the mastery over the men who work for me; I have gained the mastery over the women who work for me in the underworld; I have gained the mastery over all the things which were ordered to be done for me upon earth and in the underworld. I shall lift myself up on my left side, and I shall place myself on my right side; I shall lift myself up on my right side, and I shall place myself on my left side. I shall sit down, I shall stand up, and I shall place myself in the path of the wind like a guide who is well prepared."

IF THIS COMPOSITION BE KNOWN BY THE DECEASED HE SHALL COME FORTH BY DAY, AND HE SHALL BE IN A POSITION TO JOURNEY ABOUT OVER THE EARTH AMONG THE LIVING, AND HE SHALL NEVER SUFFER DIMINUTION, NEVER, NEVER.

COMING FORTH BY DAY ⁴⁸

ANOTHER CHAPTER.

"I am the Fire-god, the divine brother of the Fire-god, and I am Osiris the brother of Isis. My divine son, together with his mother Isis, hath avenged me on mine enemies. My

⁴⁸ From the Papyrus of Mes-em-neter.

enemies have wrought every kind of evil, therefore their arms, and hands, and feet have been fettered by reason of their wickedness which they have wrought upon me. I am Osiris, the first-born of the divine womb, the first-born of the gods, and the heir of my father Osiris-Seb. I am Osiris, the lord of the heads that live, mighty of breast and powerful of back, with a phallus which goeth to the remotest limits where men and women live. I am Sah (Orion) who traveleth over his domain and who journeyeth along before the stars of heaven, which is the belly of my mother Nut; she conceived me through her love, and she gave birth to me because it was her will so to do. I am Anpu (Anubis) on the day of the god Sepa. I am the Bull at the head of the meadow. I, even I, am Osiris who imprisoned his father together with his mother on the day of making the great slaughter; now, his father is Seb, and his mother is Nut. I am Horus, the first-born of Re of the risings. I am Anpu (Anubis) on the day of the god Sepa. I, even I, am the lord Tem. I am Osiris. Hail, thou divine first-born, who dost enter and dost speak before the divine Scribe and Doorkeeper of Osiris, grant that I may come. I have become a *khu*, I have been judged, I have become a divine being, I have come, and I have avenged mine own body. I have taken up my seat by the divine birth-chamber of Osiris, and I have destroyed the sickness and suffering which were there. I have become mighty, and I have become a divine being by the side of the birth-chamber of Osiris, I am brought forth with him, I renew my youth.

“I renew my youth, I take possession of my two thighs which are in the place where is Osiris, and I open the mouth of the gods therewith, I take my seat by his side, and Thoth cometh forth, and I am strengthened in heart with thousands of cakes upon the altars of my divine father, and with my beasts, and with my cattle, and with my red-feathered fowl, and with my oxen, and with my geese, and with my ducks, for Horus my Chieftain, and with the offerings which I make to Thoth, and with the sacrifices which I offer up to An-heri-ertaitsa.”



ANUBIS, THE JACKAL-HEADED GOD OF THE DEAD, AT FIRST THE EATER OF BODIES BUT LATER THE GUIDE THROUGH THE UNDERWORLD

COMING FORTH BY DAY

ANOTHER CHAPTER.

"I have sacrificed unto An-heri-ertaitsa, and I am decreed to be strengthened in heart, for I have made offerings at the altars of my divine father Osiris; I rule in Tattu and I lift myself up over his land. I sniff the wind of the east by its hair; I lay hold upon the north wind by its hair, I seize and hold fast to the west wind by its body, and I go round about heaven on its four sides; I lay hold upon the south wind by its eye, and I bestow air upon the venerable beings who are in the underworld along with the eating of cakes."

IF THIS COMPOSITION BE KNOWN BY THE DECEASED UPON EARTH HE SHALL COME FORTH BY DAY, AND HE SHALL HAVE THE FACULTY OF TRAVELING ABOUT AMONG THE LIVING, AND HIS NAME SHALL NEVER PERISH.

COMING FORTH BY DAY ⁴⁹

THE CHAPTER OF COMING FORTH BY DAY. The libationer, the lord of reverence, Nebseni, saith:

"Hail thou hawk who riseth in heaven, thou lord of the goddess Meh-urt! Strengthen thou me according as thou hast strengthened thyself, and show thyself upon the earth, O thou that returnest and withdrawest thyself, and let thy will be done.

"Behold the god of One Face is with me. I am the hawk which is within the shrine; and I open that which is upon the hangings thereof. Behold Horus, the son of Isis.

"Behold Horus, the son of Isis! Strengthen thou me, according as thou hast strengthened thyself, and show thyself upon earth, O thou that returnest and withdrawest thyself, and let thy will be done.

"Behold, the god of One Face is with me. I am the hawk in the southern heaven, and I am Thoth in the northern heaven; I make peace with the raging fire and I bring Maat to him that loveth her.

⁴⁹ From the Papyrus of Nebseni.

"Behold Thoth, even Thoth! Strengthen thou me according as thou hast strengthened thyself, and show thyself upon earth, O thou that returnest and withdrawest thyself, and let thy will be done.

"Behold the god of One Face is with me. I am the Plant of the region where nothing sprouteth, and the Blossom of the hidden horizon.

"Behold Osiris, yea Osiris! Strengthen thou me according as thou hast strengthened thyself, and show thyself upon earth, O thou that returnest and withdrawest thyself, and let thy will be done.

"Behold, the god of One Face is with me. Hail, thou who standest upon thy legs, in thine hour," or (as others say), "Hail, thou who art victorious upon thy legs in thine hour, thou lord of the two divine *Tchafi*,⁵⁰ who livest in the two divine *Tchafi*, strengthen thou me according as thou hast strengthened thyself, and show thyself upon earth, O thou that returnest and withdrawest thyself, and let thy will be done.

"Behold, the god of One Face is with me. Hail, thou Nekhen who art in thine egg, thou lord of the goddess Mehurt, strengthen thou me according as thou hast strengthened thyself, and show thyself upon earth, O thou that returnest and withdrawest thyself, and let thy will be done.

"Behold, the god of One Face is with me. The god Sebek hath stood up within his ground, and the goddess Neith hath stood up within her plantation, O thou that returnest and withdrawest thyself, show thyself upon earth and let thy will be done.

"Behold, the god of One Face is with me. Hail, ye seven beings who make decrees, who support the Scales on the night of the judgment of the *Utchat*, who cut off heads, who hack necks in pieces, who take possession of hearts by violence and rend the places where hearts are fixed, who make slaughtering in the Lake of Fire, I know you and I know your names, therefore know ye me even as I know your names. I come forth to you, therefore come ye forth to me, for ye live in me

⁵⁰ *I.e.*, the souls of Horus and Re.

and I would live in you. Make ye me to be vigorous by means of that which is in your hands, that is to say, by the rod of power which is in your hands. Decree ye for me life by your speech year by year; give me multitudes of years over and above my years of life, and multitudes of months over and above my months of life, and multitudes of days over and above my days of life, and multitudes of nights over and above my nights of life; and grant that I may come forth and shine upon my statue; and grant me air for my nose, and let my eyes have the power to see among those divine beings who dwell in the horizon on the day when evil-doing and wrong are justly assessed."

IF THIS CHAPTER BE RECITED FOR THE DECEASED HE SHALL BE STRONG UPON EARTH BEFORE RE AND HE SHALL HAVE A COMFORTABLE BURIAL (OR TOMB) WITH OSIRIS, AND IT SHALL BE OF GREAT BENEFIT TO A MAN IN THE UNDERWORLD. SEPULCHRAL BREAD SHALL BE GIVEN UNTO HIM, AND HE SHALL COME FORTH INTO THE PRESENCE OF RE DAY BY DAY, AND EVERY DAY, REGULARLY, AND CONTINUALLY.

COMING FORTH BY DAY

THE CHAPTER OF COMING FORTH BY DAY AND OF OPENING UP A WAY THROUGH THE AMMEHET. Behold the scribe Neb-seni, triumphant, who saith:

"Homage to you, O ye lords of *Kas*, ye who are without sin and who live for the limitless and infinite æons of time which make up eternity, I have opened up a way for myself to you! I have become a *khu* in my forms, I have gained the mastery over my enchantments, and I am decreed to be a *khu*; therefore deliver ye me from the crocodile which liveth in this country of right and truth. Grant ye to me my mouth that I may speak therewith, and cause that my sepulchral meals be placed in my hands in your presence, for I know you, and I know your names, and I know also the name of the mighty god, before whose nose ye set your *tchefau* food; and his name is 'Tekem.' When he openeth up his path in the eastern horizon of heaven, and when he fluttereth down in

the western horizon of heaven, may he carry me along with him and may I be safe and sound! Let not the *Mesget* make an end of me, let not the Fiend gain the mastery over me, let me not be turned back at your portals, and let not your doors be shut in my face, because my cakes are in the city of Pe and my ale is in the city of Tepu. And there, in the celestial mansions of heaven which my divine father Tem hath stablished, let my hands lay hold upon the wheat and the barley which shall be given unto me therein in abundant measure, and may the son of mine own body make ready for me my food therein. And grant ye unto me therein sepulchral meals, and incense, and wax, and all the beautiful and pure things whereon the god liveth, in very deed forever in all the transformations which it pleaseth me to perform; and grant me the power to float down and to sail up the stream in Sekhet-Aarru and may I reach Sekhet-hetep! I am the double Lion-god."

IF THIS CHAPTER BE KNOWN BY THE DECEASED UPON EARTH, OR IF IT BE DONE IN WRITING UPON HIS COFFIN, HE SHALL COME FORTH BY DAY IN ALL THE FORMS WHICH HE IS PLEASED TO TAKE, AND HE SHALL ENTER INTO HIS PLACE AND SHALL NOT BE DRIVEN BACK. AND CAKES, AND ALE, AND JOINTS OF MEAT UPON THE ALTAR OF OSIRIS SHALL BE GIVEN UNTO HIM; AND HE SHALL ENTER IN PEACE INTO SEKHET-AARRU TO KNOW THE DECREE OF HIM WHO DWELLETH IN TATTU; THERE SHALL WHEAT AND BARLEY BE GIVEN UNTO HIM; THERE SHALL HE FLOURISH AS HE DID UPON EARTH; AND HE SHALL DO WHATSOEVER IT PLEASETH HIM TO DO, EVEN AS THE COMPANY OF THE GODS WHICH IS IN THE UNDERWORLD, CONTINUALLY, AND REGULARLY, FOR MILLIONS OF TIMES.

OF LIFTING UP THE FEET

THE CHAPTER OF LIFTING UP THE FEET AND OF COMING FORTH UPON THE EARTH. The chancellor-in-chief, Nu, triumphant, saith:

"Perform thy work, O Seker, perform thy work, O Seker, O thou who dwellest in thy house, and who standest on thy

feet in the underworld! I am the god who sendeth forth rays of light over the Thigh of heaven, and I come forth to heaven and I sit myself down by the God of Light (*Khu*). Hail, I have become helpless! Hail, I have become helpless! but I go forward. I have become helpless, I have become helpless in the regions of those who plunder in the underworld."

OF JOURNEYING TO ANNU

THE CHAPTER OF JOURNEYING TO ANNU (HELIOPOLIS) AND OF RECEIVING A THRONE THEREIN. The chancellor-in-chief, Nu, triumphant, saith:

"I have come forth from the uttermost parts of the earth, and I have received my apparel at the will of the Ape. I penetrate into the holy habitations of those who are in their shrines (or coffins), I force my way through the habitations of the god Remren, and I arrive in the habitations of the god Akhsesef, I travel on through the holy chambers, and I pass into the Temple of the god Kemken. The Buckle hath been given unto me, it hath placed its hands upon me, it hath decreed to my service its sister Khebent, and its mother Keh-kehet. It placeth me in the eastern part of heaven wherein Re riseth and is exalted every day; and I rise therein and travel onward, and I become a spiritual body (*sah*) like the god, and they set me on that holy way on which Thoth journeyeth when he goeth to make peace between the two Fighting-gods (*i.e.*, Horus and Set). He journeyeth, he journeyeth to the city of Pe, and he cometh to the city of Tepu."

OF TRANSFORMATION

THE CHAPTER OF A MAN TRANSFORMING HIMSELF INTO WHATEVER FORM HE PLEASETH. The chancellor-in-chief, Nu, triumphant, saith:

"I have come into the House of the King by means of the mantis (*abit*) which led me hither. Homage to thee, O thou who fliest into heaven, and dost shine upon the son of the white crown, and dost protect the white crown, let me have

my existence with thee! I have gathered together the great gods, I am mighty, I have made my way and I have traveled along thereon."

OF PERFORMING TRANSFORMATIONS

THE CHAPTER OF PERFORMING THE TRANSFORMATION INTO A HAWK OF GOLD. The chancellor-in-chief, Nu, triumphant, saith:

"I have risen, I have risen like the mighty hawk of gold that cometh forth from his egg; I fly and I alight like the hawk which hath a back four cubits wide, and the wings of which are like unto the mother-of-emerald of the south. I have come forth from the interior of the *Sektet* boat, and my heart hath been brought unto me from the mountain of the east. I have alighted upon the *Atet* boat, and those who were dwelling in their companies have been brought unto me, and they bowed low in paying homage unto me and in saluting me with cries of joy. I have risen, and I have gathered myself together like the beautiful hawk of gold, which hath the head of a *Bennu* bird, and Re entereth in day by day to harken unto my words; I have taken my seat among those first-born gods of Nut. I am stablished, and the divine Sekhet-hetep is before me, I have eaten therein, I have become a *khu* therein, I have an abundance therein — as much as I desire — the god Nepra hath given to me my throat, and I have gained the mastery over that which guardeth (or belongeth to) my head."

OF TRANSFORMATION INTO A HAWK

THE CHAPTER OF MAKING THE TRANSFORMATION INTO A DIVINE HAWK. The chancellor-in-chief, Nu, triumphant, saith:

"Hail, Great God, come now to Tattu! Make thou smooth for me the ways and let me go round about to visit my thrones; I have renewed myself, and I have raised myself up. O grant thou that I may be feared, and make thou me

to be a terror. Let the gods of the underworld be afraid of me, and may they fight for me in their habitations which are therein. Let not him that would do me harm draw nigh unto me, or injure me, in the House of Darkness, that is, he that clotheth and covereth the feeble one, and whose name is hidden; and let not the gods act likewise toward me. Hail, ye gods, who harken unto my speech! Hail, ye rulers, who are among the followers of Osiris! Be ye therefore silent, O ye gods, when one god speaketh unto another, for he harkeneth unto right and truth; and what I speak unto him do thou also speak for me then, O Osiris. Grant thou that I may journey round about according to that which cometh forth from thy mouth concerning me, and grant that I may see thine own Form (or forms), and the dispositions of thy Souls. Grant thou that I may come forth, and that I may have power over my legs, and that I may have my existence there like unto that of Neb-er-tcher who is over all. May the gods of the underworld fear me, and may they fight for me in their habitations. Grant thou that I may move along therein together with the divine beings who journey onward, and may I be stablished upon my resting-place like the Lord of Life. May I be joined unto Isis the divine lady, and may she protect me from him that would do an injury unto me; and let not any one come to see the divine one naked and helpless. May I journey on, may I come into the uttermost parts of heaven. I exchange speech with the god Seb, I make supplication for divine food from Neb-er-tcher; the gods of the underworld have fear of me, and they fight for me in their habitations when they see that thou hast provided me with food, both of the fowl of the air and of the fish of the sea. I am one of those *Khus* who dwell with the divine *Khu*, and I have made my form like unto his divine Form, when he cometh forth and maketh himself manifest in Tattu. I am a spiritual body (*sah*) and possess my soul, and will speak unto thee the things which concern me. Oh grant thou that I may be feared, and make thou me to be a terror; let the gods of the underworld be afraid of me, and may they fight for me in their habitations. I, even I, am the *Khu* who dwelleth with

the divine *Khu*, whom the god Tem himself hath created, and who hath come into being from the blossom (*i.e.*, the eye-lashes) of his eye; he hath made to have existence, and he hath made to be glorious (*i.e.*, to be *Khus*), and he hath made mighty thereby those who have their existence along with him. Behold, he is the only One in Nu, and they sing praises (or do homage) unto him when he cometh forth from the horizon, and the gods and the *Khus* who have come into being along with him ascribe the lordship of terror unto him.

"I am one of those worms which the eye of the Lord, the only One, hath created. And behold, when as yet Isis had not given birth to Horus, I had germinated, and had flourished, and I had become aged, and I had become greater than those who dwelt with the divine *Khu*, and who had come into being along with him. And I had risen up like the divine hawk, and Horus made for me a spiritual body containing his own soul, so that I might take possession of all that belonged unto Osiris in the underworld. The double Lion-god, the governor of the things which belong to the Temple of the *nemmes* crown, who dwelleth in his secret abode, saith unto me: 'Get thee back to the uttermost parts of heaven, for behold, inasmuch as through thy form of Horus thou hast become a spiritual body (*sah*), the *nemmes* crown is not for thee; and behold, thou hast the power of speech even to the uttermost parts of heaven.' And I, the guardian, took possession of the things of Horus which belonged unto Osiris in the underworld, and Horus told aloud unto me the things which his divine father Osiris spake unto him in years gone by on the day of his own burial. I have given unto thee the *nemmes* crown through the double Lion-god that thou mayest pass onward and mayest come to the heavenly path, and that those who dwell in the uttermost parts of the horizon may see thee, and that the gods of the underworld may see thee and may fight for thee in their habitation. And of them is the Auhet.⁵¹ The gods, each and all of them, who are the warders of the shrine of the Lord, the only One, have fallen before

⁵¹ The variants are Aahet At, Aahet Ateh, and one papyrus gives the words, "I am the great god."

my words. Hail! He that is exalted upon his tomb is on my side, and he hath bound upon my head the *nemmes* crown, by the decree of the double Lion-god on my behalf, and the god Auhet hath prepared a way for me. I, even I, am exalted in my tomb, and the double Lion-god hath bound the *nemmes* crown upon my head, and he hath also given unto me the double hairy covering of my head. He hath stablished my heart through his own backbone, he hath stablished my heart through his own great and exceeding strength, and I shall not fall through Shu. I make my peace with the beautiful divine Brother, the lord of the two uræi, adored be he! I, even I, am he who knoweth the roads through the sky, and the wind thereof is in my body. The bull which striketh terror into men shall not drive me back, and I shall pass on to the place where lieth the shipwrecked mariner on the border of the Sekhet-neheh (*i.e.*, Field of illimitable time), and I shall journey on to the night and sorrow of the regions of Amenti. O Osiris, I shall come each day into the House of the double Lion-god, and I shall come forth therefrom into the House of Isis, the divine lady.

“I shall behold sacred things which are hidden, and I shall be led on to the secret and holy things, even as they have granted unto me to see the birth of the Great God. Horus hath made me to be a spiritual body through his soul, and I see what is therein. If I speak near the mighty ones of Shu they repulse my opportunity. I am the guardian and I take possession of the things which Horus had from Osiris in the underworld. I, even I, am Horus who dwelleth in the divine *Khu*. I have gained power over his crown, I have gained power over his radiance, and I have traveled over the remote, illimitable parts of heaven. Horus is upon his throne, Horus is upon his royal seat. My face is like unto that of the divine hawk, my strength is like unto that of the divine hawk, and I am one who hath been fully equipped by his divine Lord. I shall come forth to Tattu, I shall see Osiris, I shall pay homage to him on the right hand and on the left, I shall pay homage unto Nut, and she shall

look upon me, and the gods shall look upon me, together with the Eye of Horus who is without sight. They (*i.e.*, the gods) shall make their arms to come forth unto me. I rise up as a divine Power, and I repulse him that would subject me to restraint. They open unto me the holy paths, they see my form, and they hear that which I speak. Down upon your faces, ye gods of the Tuat (underworld), who would resist me with your faces and oppose me with your powers, who lead along the stars which never rest, and who make the holy paths unto the Hemati abode where is the Lord of the exceedingly mighty and terrible Soul. Horus hath commanded that ye lift up your faces so that I may look upon you. I have risen up like the divine hawk, and Horus hath made for me a spiritual body, through his own soul, to take possession of that which belongeth to Osiris in the Tuat.

“I have bound up the gods with divine tresses, and I have traveled on to those who ward their Chambers, and who were on both sides of me. I have made my roads and I have journeyed on and have reached those divine beings who inhabit their secret dwellings, and who are warders of the Temple of Osiris. I have spoken unto them with strength, and have made them to know the most mighty power of him that is provided with two horns to fight against Suti; and I make them to know concerning him that hath taken possession of the divine food, and who is provided with the Might of Tem. May the gods of the underworld order a prosperous journey for me! O ye gods who inhabit your secret dwellings, and who are warders of the Temple of Osiris, and whose numbers are great and multitudinous, grant ye that I may come unto you. I have bound up and I have gathered together the powers of Kesemu-enenet,” or (as others say), “Kesemiu-enenet; and I have made holy the Powers of the paths of those who watch and ward the roads of the horizon, and who are the guardians of the horizon of Hemati which is in heaven. I have stablished habitations for Osiris, I have made the ways holy for him, I have done that which hath been commanded, I have come forth to Tattu, I have seen Osiris, I have spoken unto him concerning the

matters of his first-born son whom he loveth and concerning the wounding of the heart of Suti, and I have seen the divine one who is without life. Yea, I have made them to know concerning the councils of the gods which Horus carried out while his father Osiris was not with him. Hail, Lord, thou most mighty and terrible Soul! Verily, I, even I, have come; look thou upon me, and do thou make me to be exalted. I have made my way through thy Tuat (underworld), and I have opened up the paths which belong to heaven and also those which belong to earth, and I have suffered no opposition therein. Exalted be thou upon thy throne, O Osiris! Thou hast heard fair things, O Osiris! Thy strength is vigorous, O Osiris. Thy head is fastened unto thee, O Osiris. Thy brow is stablished, O Osiris. Thy heart is glad, O Osiris. Thy speech is stablished, O Osiris, and thy princes rejoice. Thou art stablished like the Bull of Amentet. Thy son Horus hath risen like the sun upon thy throne, and all life is with him. Millions of years minister unto him, and millions of years hold him in fear; the company of the gods are his servants, and the company of the gods hold him in fear. The god Tem, the Governor and only One of the gods, hath spoken these things, and his word passeth not away. Horus is both the divine food and the sacrifice. He hath passed on to gather together the members of his divine father; Horus is his deliverer, Horus is his deliverer. Horus hath sprung from the water of his divine father and from his decay. He hath become the Governor of Egypt. The gods labor for him, and they toil for him for millions of years; and he hath made to live millions of years through his Eye, the only One of its Lord (or Neb-s), Nebt-er-tcher."

OF TRANSFORMATION INTO A GOVERNOR

THE CHAPTER OF BEING TRANSFORMED INTO THE GOVERNOR OF THE SOVEREIGN PRINCES. The chancellor-in-chief, Nu, triumphant, saith:

"I am the god Tem, the maker of heaven, the creator of things which are, who cometh forth from the earth, who

maketh to come into being the seed which is sown, the lord of things which shall be, who gave birth to the gods; I am the great god who made himself, the lord of life, who maketh to flourish the company of the gods. Homage to you, O ye lords of divine things (or of creation), ye pure beings whose abodes are hidden! Homage to you, O ye everlasting lords, whose forms are hidden and whose shrines are hidden in places which are unknown! Homage to you, O ye gods, who dwell in the Tenait! Homage to you, O ye gods of the circuit of the flooded lands of Qebhu! Homage to you, O ye gods who live in Amentet! Homage to you, O ye company of the gods who dwell in Nut! Grant ye that I may come unto you, for I am pure, I am divine, I am a *khu*, I am strong, I am endowed with a soul (or I am mighty), and I have brought unto you incense, and sweet-smelling gums, and natron; I have made an end of the spittle which floweth from your mouth upon me. I have come, and I have made an end of the evil things which are in your hearts, and I have removed the faults which ye kept laid up against me. I have brought to you the things which are good, and I make to come into your presence Right and Truth. I, even I, know you, and I know your names, and I know your forms, which are unknown, and I come into being along with you. My coming is like unto that of the god who eateth men and who liveth upon the gods. I am mighty with you like the god who is exalted upon his resting-place; the gods come to me in gladness, and goddesses make supplication unto me when they see me. I have come unto you, and I have risen like your two divine daughters. I have taken my seat in the horizon, and I receive my offerings upon my tables, and I drink drink-offerings at eventide. My coming is received with shouts of joy, and the divine beings who dwell in the horizon ascribe praises unto me, the divine spiritual body (*Sah*), the lord of divine beings. I am exalted like the holy god who dwelleth in the Great Temple, and the gods rejoice when they see me in my beautiful coming forth from the body of Nut, when my mother Nut giveth birth unto me."

OF TRANSFORMATION INTO A GOD

THE CHAPTER OF MAKING THE TRANSFORMATION INTO THE GOD WHO GIVETH LIGHT IN THE DARKNESS. Saith Osiris, the scribe Ani, triumphant:

“I am the girdle of the robe of the god Nu, which shineth and sheddeth light upon that which belongeth to his breast, which sendeth forth light into the darkness, which uniteth the two fighting deities who dwell in my body through the mighty spell of the words of my mouth, which raiseth up him that hath fallen — for he who was with him in the valley of Abtu (Abydos) hath fallen — and I rest. I have remembered him. I have taken possession of the god Hu in my city, for I found him therein, and I have led away captive the darkness by my might. I have rescued the Eye of the Sun when it waned at the coming of the festival of the fifteenth day, and I have weighed Sut in the celestial houses against the Aged one who is with him. I have endowed Thoth with what is needful in the Temple of the Moon-god for the coming of the fifteenth day of the festival. I have taken possession of the *Ureret* crown; Maat (*i.e.*, right and truth) is in my body; its mouths are of turquoise and rock-crystal. My homestead is among the furrows which are of the color of lapis lazuli. I am Hem-Nu who sheddeth light in the darkness. I have come to give light in the darkness, which is made light and bright by me. I have given light in the darkness, and I have overthrown the destroying crocodiles. I have sung praises unto those who dwell in the darkness, I have raised up those who wept, and who had hidden their faces and had sunk down in wretchedness; and they did not look then upon me.

“Hail, then, ye beings, I am Hem-Nu, and I will not let you hear concerning the matter. I have opened the way, I am Hem-Nu, I have made light the darkness, I have come, having made an end of the darkness, which hath become light indeed.”

TRANSFORMATION INTO A LOTUS

THE CHAPTER OF MAKING THE TRANSFORMATION INTO A LOTUS. The overseer of the palace, the chancellor-in-chief, Nu, saith:

"I am the pure lotus which springeth up from the divine splendor that belongeth to the nostrils of Re. I have made my way, and I follow on seeking for him who is Horus. I am the pure one who cometh forth out of the Field."

TRANSFORMATION INTO A LOTUS

THE CHAPTER OF MAKING THE TRANSFORMATION INTO A LOTUS. Saith Osiris Paqrer:

"Hail, thou lotus, thou type of the god Nefer-Temu! I am the man that knoweth you, and I know your names among those of the gods, the lords of the underworld, and I am one of you. Grant ye that I may see the gods who are the divine guides in the Tuat (underworld), and grant ye unto me a place in the underworld near unto the lords of Amentet. Let me arrive at a habitation in the land of Tchesert, and receive me, O all ye gods, in the presence of the lords of eternity. Grant that my soul may come forth whithersoever it pleaseth, and let it not be driven away from the presence of the great company of the gods."

TRANSFORMATION INTO PTAH

THE CHAPTER OF MAKING THE TRANSFORMATION INTO PTAH, OF EATING CAKES, AND OF DRINKING ALE, AND OF UNFETTERING THE STEPS, AND OF BECOMING A LIVING BEING IN ANNU (Heliopolis). The chancellor-in-chief, Nu, triumphant, saith:

"I fly like a hawk, I cackle like the *smen* goose, and I perch upon that abode of the underworld (*aat*) on the festival of the great Being. That which is an abomination unto me, that which is an abomination unto me, I have not eaten;

filth is an abomination unto me and I have not eaten thereof, and that which is an abomination unto my *ka* hath not entered into my belly. Let me, then, live upon that which the gods and the *Khus* decree for me; let me live and let me have power over cakes; let me eat them before the gods and the *Khus* who have a favor unto me; let me have power over these cakes and let me eat of them under the shade of the leaves of the palm-tree of the goddess Hathor, who is my divine Lady. Let the offering of the sacrifice, and the offering of cakes, and vessels of libations be made in Annu; let me clothe myself in the *taau* garment which I shall receive from the hand of the goddess Tait; let me stand up and let me sit down wheresoever I please. My head is like unto that of Re, and when my members are gathered together I am like unto Tem; the four sides of the domain of Re and the width of the earth four times. I come forth. My tongue is like unto that of Ptah and my throne is like unto that of the goddess Hathor, and I make mention of the words of Tem, my father, with my mouth. He it is who constraineth the handmaid, the wife of Seb, and before him are bowed all heads, and there is fear of him. Hymns of praise are repeated for me by reason of my mighty acts, and I am decreed to be the divine Heir of Seb, the lord of the earth and to be the protector therein. The god Seb refresheth me, and he maketh his risings to be mine. Those who dwell in Annu bow down their heads unto me, for I am their lord and I am their bull. I am more powerful than the lord of time, and I shall enjoy the pleasures of love, and shall gain the mastery over millions of years."

TRANSFORMATION INTO A BENNU BIRD

THE CHAPTER OF MAKING THE TRANSFORMATION INTO A BENNU BIRD. The chancellor-in-chief, Nu, triumphant, saith:

"I came⁵² into being from unformed matter. I came into existence like the god Khepera, I have germinated like the things which germinate (*i.e.*, plants), and I have dressed my-

⁵² Literally, "I flew."

self like the Tortoise. I am of the germs of every god. I am Yesterday of the four quarters of the world and of those seven uræi which came into existence in Amentet, that is to say, Horus, who emitteth light from his divine body. He is the god who fought against Suti, but the god Thoth cometh between them through the judgment of him that dwelleth in Sekhem, and of the Souls who are in Annu, and there is a stream between them. I have come by day, and I have risen in the footsteps of the gods. I am the god Khensu, who driveth back all that oppose him."

IF THIS CHAPTER BE KNOWN BY THE DECEASED HE SHALL COME FORTH PURE BY DAY AFTER HIS DEATH, AND HE SHALL PERFORM WHATSOEVER TRANSFORMATIONS HIS HEART DESIRETH. HE SHALL BE IN THE FOLLOWING OF UN-NEFER, AND HE SHALL BE SATISFIED WITH THE FOOD OF OSIRIS AND WITH SEPULCHRAL MEALS. HE SHALL SEE THE DISK, HE SHALL BE IN GOOD CASE UPON EARTH BEFORE RE, AND HE SHALL BE TRIUMPHANT BEFORE OSIRIS, AND NO EVIL THING WHATSOEVER SHALL HAVE DOMINION OVER HIM FOREVER AND EVER.

TRANSFORMATION INTO A HERON

THE CHAPTER OF MAKING THE TRANSFORMATION INTO A HERON. The chancellor-in-chief, Nu, triumphant, saith:

"I have gotten dominion over the beasts that are brought for sacrifice, with the knives which are held at their heads, and at their hair, and at their. . . . Hail, Aged ones; hail, *Khus*, who are provided with the opportunity, the chancellor-in-chief, the overseer of the palace, Nu, triumphant, is upon the earth, and what he hath slaughtered is in heaven; and what he hath slaughtered is in heaven and he is upon the earth. Behold, I am strong, and I work mighty deeds to the very heights of heaven. I have made myself pure, and I make the breadth of heaven a place for my footsteps as I go into the cities of Aukert; I advance, and I go forward into the city of Unnu (Hermopolis). I have set the gods upon their paths, and I have roused up the exalted ones who dwell in their shrines. Do I not know Nu? Do I not know Tatunen? Do

I not know the beings of the color of fire who thrust forward their horns? Do I not know every being having incantations unto whose words I listen? I am the *Smam* bull for slaughter, which is written down in the books. The gods, crying out, say: 'Let your faces be gracious to him that cometh onward.' The light is beyond your knowledge, and ye can not fetter it; and times and seasons are in my body. I do not utter words to the god Hu, I do not utter words of wickedness instead of words of right and truth, and each day right and truth come upon my eyebrows. At night taketh place the festival of him that is dead, the Aged One, who is in ward in the earth."

OF THE LIVING SOUL

THE CHAPTER OF MAKING THE TRANSFORMATION INTO A LIVING SOUL, AND OF NOT ENTERING INTO THE CHAMBER OF TORTURE; whosoever knoweth it shall not see corruption. The chancellor-in-chief, Nu, triumphant, saith:

"I am the divine Soul of Re proceeding from the god Nu; that divine soul which is God, I am the creator of the divine food, and that which is an abomination unto me is sin whereon I look not. I proclaim right and truth, and I live therein. I am the divine food, which is not corrupted in my name of Soul: I gave birth unto myself together with Nu in my name of Khepera in whom I come into being day by day. I am the lord of light, and that which is an abomination unto me is death; let me not go into the chamber of torture which is in the Tuat (underworld). I ascribe honor unto Osiris, and I make to be at peace the hearts of those beings who dwell among the divine things which I love. They cause the fear of me to abound, and they create awe of me in those beings who dwell in their divine territories. Behold, I am exalted upon my standard, and upon my seat, and upon the throne which is adjudged to me. I am the god Nu, and the workers of iniquity shall not destroy me. I am the first-born god of primeval matter, that is to say, the divine Soul, even the Souls of the gods of everlastingness, and my body is eternity. My Form is everlastingness, and is the lord of

years and the prince of eternity. I am the creator of the darkness who maketh his habitation in the uttermost parts of the sky, which I love, and I arrive at the confines thereof. I advance upon my feet, I become master of my vine, I sail over the sky which formeth the division betwixt heaven and earth, I destroy the hidden worms that travel nigh unto my footsteps which are toward the lord of the two hands and arms. My soul is the Souls of the souls of everlastingness, and my body is eternity. I am the divine exalted being who is the lord of the land of Tebu. 'I am the Boy in the city and the Young man in the plain' is my name; 'he that never suffereth corruption' is my name. I am the Soul, the creator of the god Nu who maketh his habitation in the underworld: my place of incubation is unseen and my egg is not cracked. I have done away with all my iniquity, and I shall see my divine Father, the lord of eventide, whose body dwelleth in Annu. I travel to the god of night, who dwelleth with the god of light, by the western region of the Ibis (*i.e.*, Thoth)."

OF THE SWALLOW

THE CHAPTER OF MAKING THE TRANSFORMATION INTO A SWALLOW. The chancellor-in-chief, Nu, triumphant, saith:

"I am a swallow, I am a swallow. I am the Scorpion, the daughter of Re. Hail, ye gods, whose scent is sweet; hail, ye gods, whose scent is sweet! Hail, Flame, which cometh forth from the horizon! Hail, thou who art in the city, I have brought the Warden of his Bight therein. Oh, stretch out unto me thy hand so that I may be able to pass my days in the Pool of Double Fire, and let me advance with my message, for I have come with words to tell. Oh, open thou the doors to me and I will declare the things which have been seen by me. Horus hath become the divine prince of the Boat of the Sun, and unto him hath been given the throne of his divine father Osiris, and Set, that son of Nut, lieth under the fetters which he had made for me. I have made a computation of what is in the city of Sekhem, I have stretched out both my hands and arms at the word of Osiris. I have

passed on to judgment, and I have come that I may speak; grant that I may pass on and declare my tidings. I enter in, I am judged, and I come forth worthy at the gate of Neb-er-teher. I am pure at the great place of the passage of souls, I have done away with my sins, I have put away mine offenses, and I have destroyed the evil which appertained unto my members upon earth. Hail, ye divine beings who guard the doors, make ye for me a way, for, behold, I am like unto you. I have come forth by day, I have journeyed on on my legs, I have gained the mastery over my footsteps before the God of Light, I know the hidden ways and doors of the Sekhet-Aaru, verily I, even I, have come, I have overthrown mine enemies upon earth, and yet my perishable body is in the grave!"

IF THIS CHAPTER BE KNOWN BY THE DECEASED HE SHALL COME FORTH BY DAY, HE SHALL NOT BE TURNED BACK AT ANY GATE IN THE UNDERWORLD, AND HE SHALL MAKE HIS TRANSFORMATION INTO A SWALLOW REGULARLY AND CONTINUALLY.

THE SERPENT SATA

THE CHAPTER OF MAKING THE TRANSFORMATION INTO THE SERPENT SATA. The chancellor-in-chief, Nu, triumphant, saith:

"I am the serpent Sata whose years are many. I die and I am born again each day. I am the serpent Sata which dwelleth in the uttermost parts of the earth. I die, and I am born again, and I renew myself, and I grow young each day."

OF THE CROCODILE

THE CHAPTER OF MAKING THE TRANSFORMATION INTO A CROCODILE. The chancellor-in-chief, Nu, triumphant, saith:

"I am the divine crocodile which dwelleth in his terror, I am the divine crocodile, and I seize my prey like a ravening beast. I am the great and Mighty Fish which is in the city of Qem-ur. I am the lord to whom bowing and prostrations are made in the city of Sekhem."

SOUL AND BODY

THE CHAPTER OF CAUSING THE SOUL TO BE UNITED TO ITS BODY IN THE UNDERWORLD. The Osiris Ani, triumphant, saith:

"Hail thou god Anniu (*i.e.*, Bringer)! Hail, thou god Pehrer (*i.e.*, Runner), who dwellest in thy hall! Hail, great God! Grant thou that my soul may come unto me from wheresoever it may be. If it would tarry, then let my soul be brought unto me from wheresoever it may be, for thou shalt find the Eye of Horus standing by thee like unto those beings who are like unto Osiris, and who never lie down in death. Let not the Osiris Ani, triumphant, lie down in death among those who lie down in Annu, the land wherein souls are joined unto their bodies even in thousands. Let me have possession of my *ba* (soul), and of my *khu*, and let me triumph therewith in every place wheresoever it may be. Observe these things which I speak, for it hath staves with it; observe then, O ye divine guardians of heaven, my soul, wheresoever it may be. If it would tarry, do thou make my soul to look upon my body, for thou shalt find the Eye of Horus standing by thee like those beings who are like unto Osiris.

"Hail ye gods, who tow along the boat of the lord of millions of years, who bring it above the underworld and who make it to travel over Nut, who make souls to enter into their spiritual bodies, whose hands are filled with your ropes and who clutch your weapons tight, destroy ye the Enemy; thus shall the boat of the sun be glad and the great God shall set out on his journey in peace. And behold, grant yet that the soul of Osiris Ani, triumphant, may come forth before the god and that it may be triumphant along with you in the eastern part of the sky to follow unto the place where it was yesterday; and that it may have peace, peace in Amentet. May it look upon its material body, may it rest upon its spiritual body; and may its body neither perish nor suffer corruption forever."

THESE WORDS ARE TO BE SAID OVER A SOUL OF GOLD INLAID

WITH PRECIOUS STONES AND PLACED ON THE BREAST OF OSIRIS.

OF EVIL RECOLLECTIONS

THE CHAPTER OF DRIVING EVIL RECOLLECTIONS FROM THE MOUTH. The overseer of the palace, the chancellor-in-chief, Nu, triumphant, the son of the overseer of the palace, the chancellor-in-chief, Amen-hetep, triumphant, saith:

“Hail, thou that cuttest off heads, and slittest brows, thou being who puttest away the memory of evil things from the mouth of the *Khus* by means of the incantations which they have within them, look not upon me with the same eyes with which thou lookest upon them. Go thou round about on thy legs, and let thy face be turned behind thee so that thou mayest be able to see the divine slaughterers of the god Shu who are coming up behind thee to cut off thy head, and to slit thy brow by reason of the message of violence sent by thy lord, and to see that which thou sayest. Work thou for me so that the memory of evil things shall dart from my mouth.

“Let not my head be cut off; let not my brow be slit; and let not my mouth be shut fast by reason of the incantations which thou hast within thee, according to that which thou doest for the *Khus* through the incantations which they have within themselves. Get thee back and depart at the sound of the two speeches which the goddess Isis uttered when thou didst come to cast the recollection of evil things into the mouth of Osiris by the will of Suti his enemy, saying, ‘Let thy face be toward the privy parts, and look upon that face which cometh forth from the flame of the Eye of Horus against thee from within the Eye of Tem,’ and the calamity of that night which shall consume thee. And Osiris went back, for the abomination of thee was in him; and thou didst go back, for the abomination of him is in thee. I have gone back, for the abomination of thee is in me; and thou shalt go back, for the abomination of me is in thee. Thou wouldst come unto me, but I say that thou shalt not advance to me so

that I come to an end, and I say then to the divine slaughterers of the god Shu, 'Depart.'"

OF RESCUE

THE CHAPTER OF NOT LETTING THE SOUL OF NU, TRIUMPHANT, BE CAPTIVE IN THE UNDERWORLD. He saith:

"Hail, thou who art exalted! Hail, thou who art adored! O thou mighty one of Souls, thou divine Soul, thou possessor of terrible power, who dost put the fear of thyself into the gods, thou who art crowned upon thy throne of majesty, I pray thee to make a way for the *ba* (soul), and for the *Khu*, and for the *khaibit* (shade) of the overseer of the palace, the chancellor-in-chief, Nu, triumphant, and let him be provided therewith. I am a perfect *Khu*, and I have made my way unto the place wherein dwell Re and Hathor."

IF THIS CHAPTER BE KNOWN BY THE DECEASED HE SHALL BE ABLE TO TRANSFORM HIMSELF INTO A *KHU* PROVIDED WITH HIS SOUL AND WITH HIS SHADE IN THE UNDERWORLD, AND HE SHALL NEVER BE HELD CAPTIVE AT ANY DOOR IN AMENTET, IN ENTERING IN OR IN COMING OUT.

OF OPENING THE TOMB

THE CHAPTER OF OPENING THE TOMB TO THE SOUL AND TO THE SHADE OF OSIRIS the scribe Nebseni, the lord of reverence, born of the lady of the house Mut-restha, triumphant, so THAT HE MAY COME FORTH BY DAY AND HAVE DOMINION OVER HIS FLEET. He saith:

"That which was shut fast hath been opened, that is to say, he that lay down in death hath been opened. That which was opened hath been shut to my soul through the command of the Eye of Horus, which hath strengthened me and which maketh to stand fast the beauties which are upon the forehead of Re, whose strides are long as he lifteth up his legs in journeying. I have made for myself a way, my members are mighty and are strong. I am Horus, the avenger of his divine father. I am he who bringeth along his divine father,

and who bringeth along his mother by means of his scepter. And the way shall be opened unto him who hath gotten dominion over his feet, and he shall see the Great God in the Boat of Re, when souls are counted therein at the bows, and when the years also are counted up. Grant that the Eye of Horus, which maketh the adornments of light to be firm upon the forehead of Re, may deliver my soul for me, and let there be darkness upon your faces, O ye who would hold fast Osiris. Oh, keep not captive my soul, Oh, keep not ward over my shade, but let a way be opened for my soul and for my shade, and let them see the Great God in the shrine on the day of the judgment of souls, and let them recite the utterances of Osiris, whose habitations are hidden, to those who guard the members of Osiris, and who keep ward over the *Khus*, and who hold captive the shades of the dead who would work evil against me, so that they shall not work evil against me. May a way for thy double (*ka*) along with thee and along with thy soul be prepared by those who keep ward over the members of Osiris, and who hold captive the shades of the dead. Heaven shall not keep thee, the earth shall not hold thee captive, thou shalt not have thy being with the divine beings who make slaughter, but thou shalt have dominion over thy legs, and thou shalt advance to thy body straightway in the earth and to those who belong to the shrine and guard the members of Osiris."

OF NOT SAILING TO THE EAST

THE CHAPTER OF NOT SAILING TO THE EAST IN THE UNDERWORLD. The chancellor-in-chief, Nu, triumphant, saith:

"Hail, phallus of Re, who departest from thy calamity which ariseth through opposition, the cycles have been without movement for millions of years. I am stronger than the strong, I am mightier than the mighty. If I sail away or if I be snatched away to the east through the two horns," or (as others say), "if any evil and abominable thing be done unto me at the feast of the devils, the phallus of Re shall be swallowed up, along with the head of Osiris. And behold

me, for I journey along over the fields wherein the gods mow down those who make reply unto their words; now verily the two horns of the god Khepera shall be thrust aside; and verily pus shall spring into being in the eye of Tem along with corruption if I be kept in restraint, or if I have gone toward the east, or if the feast of devils be made in my presence, or if any malignant wound be inflicted upon me."

OF THE INK-POT AND PALETTE

THE CHAPTER OF PRAYING FOR AN INK-POT AND FOR A PALETTE. The chancellor-in-chief, Nu, triumphant, saith:

"Hail, aged god, who dost behold thy divine father and who art the guardian of the book of Thoth, behold I have come; I am endowed with glory, I am endowed with strength, I am filled with might, and I am supplied with the books of Thoth, and I have brought them to enable me to pass through the god Aker who dwelleth in Set. I have brought the ink-pot and the palette as being the objects which are in the hands of Thoth; hidden is that which is in them. Behold me in the character of a scribe! I have brought the ofal of Osiris, and I have written thereon. I have made (*i.e.*, copied) the words of the great and beautiful god each day fairly. O Heru-khuti, thou didst order me and I have made (*i.e.*, copied) what is right and true, and I do bring it unto thee each day."

OF BEING NIGH UNTO THOTH

THE CHAPTER OF BEING NIGH UNTO THOTH. The chancellor-in-chief, Nu, triumphant, saith:

"I am he who sendeth forth terror into the powers of rain and thunder, and I ward off from the great divine lady the attacks of violence. I have smitten like the god Shat (*i.e.*, the god of slaughter), and I have poured out libations of cool water like the god Ashu, and I have worked for the great divine lady to ward off the attacks of violence, I have made to flourish my knife along with the knife which is in the hand of Thoth in the powers of rain and thunder."

OF BEING NIGH UNTO THOTH

THE CHAPTER OF BEING NIGH UNTO THOTH AND OF GIVING GLORY UNTO A MAN IN THE UNDERWORLD. The chancellor-in-chief, Nu, triumphant, saith :

"I am the god Her-ab-maat-f (*i.e.*, 'he that is within his eye'), and I have come to give right and truth to Re; I have made Suti to be at peace with me by means of offerings made to the god Aker and to the Tesheru deities, and by making reverence unto Seb."

The following words are to be recited in the *Sektet* boat:

"Hail, scepter of Anubis, I have made the four *Khus* who are in the train of the lord of the universe to be at peace with me, and I am the lord of the fields through their decree.

"I am the divine father Bah (*i.e.*, the god of the water-flood), and I do away with the thirst of him that keepeth ward over the Lakes. Behold ye me, then, O great gods of majesty who dwell among the Souls of Annu, for I am lifted up over you.

"I am the god Menkh (*i.e.*, Gracious one) who dwelleth among you. Verily I have cleansed my soul, O great god of majesty; set not before me the evil obstacles which issue from thy mouth, and let not destruction come round about me, or upon me. I have made myself clean in the Lake of making to be at peace, and in the Lake of weighing in the balance, and I have bathed myself in Netert-utchat, which is under the holy sycamore-tree of heaven. Behold I am bathed, and I have triumphed over all mine enemies straightway who come forth and rise up against right and truth. I am right and true in the earth. I, even I, have spoken with my mouth which is the power of the Lord, the Only one, Re the mighty, who liveth upon right and truth. Let not injury be inflicted upon me, but let me be clothed on the day of those who go forward to every good thing."

OF BRINGING A BOAT ALONG IN HEAVEN

THE CHAPTER OF BRINGING ALONG A BOAT IN HEAVEN.
The chancellor-in-chief, triumphant, saith:

"Hail to thee, O thou Thigh which dwellest in the northern heaven in the Great Lake, which art seen and which diest not. I have stood up over thee when thou didst rise like a god. I have seen thee, and I have not lain down in death; I have stood over thee, and I have risen like a god. I have cackled like a goose, and I have alighted like the hawk by the divine clouds and by the great dew. I have journeyed from the earth to heaven. The god Shu hath made me to stand up, the god of Light hath made me to be vigorous by the two sides of the ladder, and the stars which never rest set me on my way and bring me away from slaughter. I bring along with me the things which drive back calamities as I advance over the passage of the god Pen; thou comest, how great art thou, O god Pen! I have come from the Pool of Flame which is in the Sekhet-Sasa (*i.e.*, the Field of Fire). Thou livest in the Pool of Flame in Sekhet-Sasa, and I live upon the staff of the holy god. Hail, thou god Kaa, who dost bring those things which are in the boats by the . . . I stand up in the boat and I guide myself over the water; I have stood up in the boat and the god hath guided me. I have stood up. I have spoken. I am master of the crops. I sail round about as I go forward, and the gates which are in Sekhem (Letopolis) are opened unto me, and fields are awarded unto me in the city of Unnu (Hermopolis), and laborers are given unto me together with those of my own flesh and bone."

OF BRINGING THE MAKHENT BOAT

THE CHAPTER OF BRINGING ALONG A BOAT IN THE UNDER-WORLD. The chancellor-in-chief, Nu, triumphant, saith:

"Hail, ye who bring along the boat over the evil back of Apepi, grant that I may bring the boat along, and coil up its

ropes in peace, in peace. Come, come, hasten, hasten, for I have come to see my father Osiris, the lord of the *ansi* garment, who hath gained the mastery with joy of heart. Hail, lord of the rain-storm, thou Male, thou Sailor! Hail, thou who dost sail over the evil back of Apep! Hail, thou that dost bind up heads and dost stablish the bones of the neck when thou comest forth from the knives. Hail, thou who art in charge of the hidden boat, who dost fetter Apep, grant that I may bring along the boat, and that I may coil up the ropes and that I may sail forth therein. This land is baleful, and the stars have overbalanced themselves and have fallen upon their faces therein, and they have not found anything which will help them to ascend again: their path is blocked by the tongue of Re. Antebu is the guide of the two lands. Seb is stablished through their rudders. The power which openeth the Disk. The prince of the red beings. I am brought along like him that hath suffered shipwreck; grant that my *Khu*, my brother, may come to me, and that I may set out for the place whereof thou knowest."

"Tell me my name," saith the wood whereat I would anchor; "Lord of the two lands who dwellest in the Shrine" is thy name.

"Tell me my name," saith the Rudder; "Leg of Hapiu" is thy name.

"Tell me my name," saith the Rope; "Hair with which Anpu (Anubis) finisheth the work of my embalmment" is thy name.

"Tell us our name," say the Oar-rests; "Pillars of the underworld" is your name.

"Tell me my name," saith the Hold; "Akar" is thy name.

"Tell me my name," saith the Mast; "He who bringeth back the great lady after she hath gone away" is thy name.

"Tell me my name," saith the Lower deck; "Standard of Ap-uat" is thy name.

"Tell me my name," saith the Upper post; "Throat of Mestha" is thy name.

"Tell me my name," saith the Sail; "Nut" is thy name.

"Tell us our name," say the Pieces of leather; "Ye who

are made from the hide of the Mnevis Bull, which was burned by Suti," is your name.

"Tell us our name," say the Paddles; "Fingers of Horus the first-born" is your name.

"Tell me my name," saith the *Matchabet*; "The hand of Isis, which wipeth away the blood from the Eye of Horus," is thy name.

"Tell us our names," say the Planks which are in its hulk; "Mesthi, Hapi, Tuamauf, Qebh-sennuf, Haqau (*i.e.*, he who leadeth away captive), Thet-em-aui (*i.e.*, he who seizeth by violence), Maa-an-tef (*i.e.*, he who seeth what the father bringeth), and Ari-nef-tchesef (*i.e.*, he who made himself)," are your names.

"Tell us our name," say the Bows; "He who is at the head of his nomes" is your name.

"Tell me my name," saith the Hull; "Mert" is thy name.

"Tell me my name," saith the Rudder; "Aqa" (*i.e.*, true one) is thy name, O thou who shinest from the water, hidden beam is thy name.

"Tell me my name," saith the Keel; "Thigh (or Leg) of Isis, which Re cut off with the knife to bring blood into the *Sektet* boat," is thy name.

"Tell me my name," saith the Sailor; "Traveler" is thy name.

"Tell me my name," saith the Wind by which thou art borne along; "The North Wind which cometh from Tem to the nostrils of Khenti-Amenti"⁵³ is thy name.

"Tell me my name," saith the River, "if thou wouldst travel upon me"; "Those which can be seen" is thy name.

"Tell us our name," say the River-Banks; "Destroyer of the god Au-a (*i.e.*, he of the specious hand) in the water-house" is thy name.

"Tell me my name," saith the Ground, "if thou wouldst walk upon me"; "The Nose of heaven which proceedeth from the god Utu, who dwelleth in the Sekhet-Aaru, and who cometh forth with rejoicing therefrom," is thy name.

⁵³ *I.e.*, the "Governor of Amenti," or Osiris.

THEN SHALL BE RECITED BEFORE THEM THESE WORDS:

“Hail to you, O ye divine beings with splendid *Kas*, ye divine lords of things, who exist and who live forever, and whose double period of an illimitable number of years is eternity, I have made a way unto you, grant ye me food and sepulchral meals for my mouth, and grant that I may speak therewith, and that the goddess Isis may give me loaves and cakes in the presence of the great god. I know the great god before whose nostrils ye place *tchefau* food, and his name is Thekem; both when he maketh his way from the eastern horizon of heaven and when he journeyeth into the western horizon of heaven may his journey be my journey, and his going forth my going forth. Let me not be destroyed at the *Mesqet* chamber, and let not the devils gain dominion over my members. I have my cakes in the city of Pe, and I have my ale in the city of Tepu, and let the offerings which are given unto you be given unto me this day. Let my offerings be wheat and barley; let my offerings be *anti* unguent and linen garments; let my offerings be for life, strength, and health: let my offerings be a coming forth by day in any form whatsoever in which it may please me to appear in Sekhet-Aarru.”

IF THIS CHAPTER BE KNOWN BY THE DECEASED HE SHALL COME FORTH INTO SEKHET-AARRU, AND BREAD AND WINE AND CAKES SHALL BE GIVEN UNTO HIM AT THE ALTAR OF THE GREAT GOD, AND FIELDS, AND AN ESTATE SOWN WITH WHEAT AND BARLEY, WHICH THE FOLLOWERS OF HORUS SHALL REAP FOR HIM. AND HE SHALL EAT OF THAT WHEAT AND BARLEY, AND HIS LIMBS SHALL BE NOURISHED THEREWITH, AND HIS BODY SHALL BE LIKE UNTO THE BODIES OF THE GODS, AND HE SHALL COME FORTH INTO SEKHET-AARRU IN ANY FORM WHATSOEVER HE PLEASETH, AND HE SHALL APPEAR THEREIN REGULARLY AND CONTINUALLY.

OF ENTERING THE BOAT OF RE

THE BOOK OF MAKING PERFECT THE *KHU* AND OF CAUSING HIM TO GO FORTH INTO THE BOAT OF RE ALONG WITH THOSE WHO ARE IN HIS FOLLOWING. The overseer of the palace, the chancellor-in-chief, Nu, triumphant, saith:

"I have brought the divine *Bennu* to the east, and Osiris to the city of Tattu. I have opened the treasure-houses of the god Hap, I have made clean the roads of the Disk, and I have drawn the god Sekeri along upon his sledge. The mighty and divine Lady hath made me strong at her hour. I have praised and glorified the Disk, and I have united myself unto the divine apes who sing at the dawn, and I am a divine Being among them. I have made myself a counterpart of the goddess Isis, and her power (*Khu*) hath made me strong. I have tied up the rope, I have driven back Apep, I have made him to walk backward. Re hath stretched out to me both his hands, and his mariners have not repulsed me; my strength is the strength of the *Utchat*, and the strength of the *Utchat* is my strength. If the overseer of the house, the chancellor-in-chief, Nu, triumphant, be separated from the boat of Re, then shall he (*i.e.*, Re) be separated from the Egg and from the *Abtu* fish."

THIS CHAPTER SHALL BE RECITED OVER THE DESIGN WHICH HATH BEEN DRAWN ABOVE, AND IT SHALL BE WRITTEN UPON PAPYRUS WHICH HATH NOT BEEN WRITTEN UPON, WITH INK MADE OF GRAINS OF GREEN *ABUT* MIXED WITH *ANTI* WATER, AND THE PAPYRUS SHALL BE PLACED ON THE BREAST OF THE DECEASED; IT SHALL NOT ENTER IN TO (*i.e.*, TOUCH) HIS MEMBERS. IF THIS BE DONE FOR ANY DECEASED PERSON HE SHALL GO FORTH INTO THE BOAT OF RE IN THE COURSE OF THE DAY EVERY DAY, AND THE GOD THOTH SHALL TAKE ACCOUNT OF HIM AS HE COMETH FORTH FROM AND GOETH IN THE COURSE OF THE DAY EVERY DAY, REGULARLY AND CONTINUALLY, UNTO THE BOAT OF RE, AS A PERFECT *KHU*. AND HE SHALL SET UP THE *TET* AND SHALL STABLISH THE BUCKLE, AND SHALL SAIL ABOUT WITH RE INTO ANY PLACE HE WISHETH.

OF PROTECTING THE BOAT OF RE

THE CHAPTER OF PROTECTING THE BOAT OF RE.

“O thou that cleavest the water as thou comest forth from the stream and dost sit upon thy place in thy boat, sit thou upon thy place in thy boat as thou goest forth to thy station of yesterday, and do thou join the Osiris, the overseer of the palace, the chancellor-in-chief, Nu, triumphant, the perfect *Khu*, unto thy mariners, and let thy strength be his strength. Hail, Re, in thy name of Re, if thou dost pass by the eye of seven cubits, which hath a pupil of three cubits, then verily do thou strengthen the Osiris, Nu, triumphant, the perfect *Khu*, and let him be among thy mariners, and let thy strength be his strength. Hail, Re, in thy name of Re, if thou dost pass by those who are overturned in death then verily do thou make the Osiris, Nu, triumphant, the perfect soul, to stand up upon his feet, and may thy strength be his strength. Hail, Re, in thy name of Re, if the hidden things of the underworld are opened unto thee and thou dost gratify the heart of the cycle of thy gods, then verily do thou grant joy of heart unto the chancellor-in-chief, Nu, triumphant, and let thy strength be his strength. Thy members, O Re, are established by this Chapter.”

THIS CHAPTER SHALL BE RECITED OVER A BANDLET OF THE FINE LINEN OF KINGS UPON WHICH IT HATH BEEN WRITTEN WITH *ANTI*, WHICH SHALL BE LAID UPON THE NECK OF THE PERFECT *KHU* ON THE DAY OF THE BURIAL. IF THIS AMULET BE LAID UPON HIS NECK HE SHALL DO EVERYTHING WHICH HE DESIRETH TO DO EVEN LIKE THE GODS; AND HE SHALL JOIN HIMSELF UNTO THE FOLLOWERS OF HORUS; AND HE SHALL BE STABLISHED AS A STAR FACE TO FACE WITH SEPTET (*SOTHIS*); AND HIS CORRUPTIBLE BODY SHALL BE AS A GOD ALONG WITH HIS KINSPOLK FOREVER; AND THE GODDESS MENQET SHALL MAKE PLANTS TO GERMINATE UPON HIS BODY; AND THE MAJESTY OF THE GOD THOTH LOVINGLY SHALL MAKE THE LIGHT TO REST UPON HIS CORRUPTIBLE BODY AT WILL, EVEN AS HE DID FOR THE MAJESTY OF THE KING OF THE NORTH AND OF THE SOUTH, THE GOD OSIRIS, TRIUMPHANT.

OF GOING INTO THE BOAT OF RE

THE CHAPTER OF GOING INTO THE BOAT OF RE. The chancellor-in-chief, Nu, triumphant, saith:

“Hail, thou Great God who art in thy boat, bring thou me into thy boat. I have come forward to thy steps, let me be the director of thy journeyings and let me be among those who belong to thee and who are among the stars which never rest. The things which are an abomination unto thee and the things which are an abomination unto me I will not eat, that which is an abomination unto me, that which is an abomination unto me is filth and I will not eat thereof; but sepulchral offerings and holy food will I eat, and I shall not be overthrown thereby. I will not draw nigh unto filth with my hands, and I will not walk thereon with my sandals, because my bread is made of white barley, and my ale is made of red barley; and behold, the *Sektet* boat and the *Atet* boat have brought these things and have laid the gifts of the lands upon the altar of the Souls of Annu. Hymns of praise be to thee, O Ur-arit-s, as thou travelest through heaven! Let there be food for thee, O dweller in the city of Teni (This), and when the dogs gather together let me not suffer harm. I myself have come, and I have delivered the god from the things which have been inflicted upon him, and from the grievous sickness of the body of the arm, and of the leg. I have come and I have spit upon the body, I have bound up the arm, and I have made the leg to walk. I have entered the boat and I sail round about by the command of Re.”

OF KNOWING THE SOULS OF THE EAST

THE CHAPTER OF KNOWING THE SOULS OF THE EAST. The chancellor-in-chief, Nu, triumphant, saith:

“I, even I, know the eastern gate of heaven — now its southern part is at the Lake of Kharu and its northern part is at the canal of the geese — whereout Re cometh with winds which make him to advance. I am he who is concerned with



HATHOR. PROBABLY THE PRIMEVAL GODDESS OF EGYPT. THE COW-GOD-
DESS AND QUEEN OF THE UNDERWORLD, ADORNED WITH
EMBLEMS OF PLEASURE, COMES OUT OF THE
MOUNTAIN OF TOMBS

the tackle which is in the divine bark, I am the sailor who ceaseth not in the boat of Re, I, even I, know the two sycamores of turquoise between which Re showeth himself when he strideth forward over the supports of Shu⁵⁴ toward the gate of the lord of the East through which Re cometh forth. I, even I, know the Sektet-Aarru of Re, the walls of which are of iron. The height of the wheat therein is five cubits, of the ears thereof two cubits, and of the stalks thereof three cubits. The barley therein is in height seven cubits, the ears thereof are three cubits, and the stalks thereof are four cubits. And behold, the *Khus*, each one of whom therein is nine cubits in height, reap it near the divine Souls of the East. I, even I, know the divine Souls of the East, that is to say, Heru-khuti (Harmakhis), and the Calf of the goddess Khera, and the Morning Star⁵⁵ daily. A divine city hath been built for me, I know it, and I know the name thereof; 'Sekhet-Aarru' is its name."

OF SEKHET-HETEPET

HERE BEGIN THE CHAPTERS OF SEKHET-HETEPET, AND THE CHAPTERS OF COMING FORTH BY DAY; OF GOING INTO AND OF COMING OUT FROM THE UNDERWORLD; OF COMING TO SEKHET-AARU; OF BEING IN SEKHET-HETEPET, THE MIGHTY LAND, THE LADY OF WINDS; OF HAVING POWER THERE; OF BECOMING A *KHU* THERE; OF PLOWING THERE; OF REAPING THERE; OF EATING THERE; OF DRINKING THERE; OF MAKING LOVE THERE; AND OF DOING EVERYTHING EVEN AS A MAN DOETH UPON EARTH. Behold the scribe and artist of the Temple of Ptah, Nebseni, who saith:

"Set hath taken possession of Horus, who looked with the two eyes upon the building round Sekhet-hetep, but I have unfettered Horus and taken him from Set, and Set hath opened the ways of the two eyes which are in heaven. Set

⁵⁴ *I.e.*, the four pillars at the south, north, west, and east of heaven upon which the heavens were believed to rest.

⁵⁵ In the Saïte Recension this chapter is about twice as long as it is in the Theban Recension.

hath cast his moisture to the winds upon the soul that hath his day (or his eye) and who dwelleth in the city of Mert, and he hath delivered the interior of the body of Horus from the gods of Akert. Behold me now, for I make this mighty boat to travel over the Lake of Hetep, and I brought it away with might from the palace of Shu; the domain of his stars groweth young and reneweth its former strength. I have brought the boat into the lakes thereof so that I may come forth into the cities thereof, and I have sailed into their divine city Hetep. And behold, it is because I, even I, am at peace with his seasons, and with his guidance, and with his territory, and with the company of the gods who are his first-born.

"He maketh the two divine fighters (*i.e.*, Horus and Set) to be at peace with those who watch over the living ones whom he hath created in fair form, and he bringeth peace with him; he maketh the two divine fighters to be at peace with those who watch over them. He cutteth off the hair from the divine fighters, he driveth away storm from the helpless, and he keepeth away harm from the *Khus*. Let me gain dominion within that Field, for I know it, and I have sailed among its lakes so that I might come into its cities. My mouth is strong; and I am equipped with weapons to use against the *Khus*; let them not have dominion over me. Let me be rewarded with thy fields, O thou god Hetep; that which is thy wish, shalt thou do, O lord of the winds. May I become a *khu* therein, may I eat therein, may I drink therein, may I plow therein, may I reap therein, may I fight therein, may I make love therein, may my words be mighty therein, may I never be in a state of servitude therein, but may I be in authority therein. Thou hast made strong the mouth and the throat of the god Hetep; Qetetbu is its name. He is stablished upon the watery supports of the god Shu, and is linked unto the pleasant things of Re. He is the divider of years, he is hidden of mouth, his mouth is silent, that which he uttereth is secret, he fulfilleth eternity and taketh possession of everlastingness of existence as Hetep, the lord Hetep.

“The god Horus maketh himself to be strong like unto the Hawk which is one thousand cubits in length and two thousand cubits in width in life; he hath equipments with him, and he journeyeth on and cometh where the seat of his heart wisheth in the Pools thereof and in the cities thereof. He was begotten in the birth-chamber of the god of the city, he hath offerings made unto him of the food of the god of the city, he performeth that which it is meet to do therein, and the union thereof, in the matter of everything of the birth-chamber of the divine city. When he setteth in life like crystal he performeth everything therein, and these things are like unto the things which are done in the Lake of double Fire, wherein there is none that rejoiceth, and wherein is all manner of evil things. The god Hetep goeth in, and cometh out, and goeth backward in that Field which gathereth together all manner of things for the birth-chamber of the god of the city. When he setteth in life like crystal he performeth all manner of things therein which are like unto the things which are done in the Lake of double Fire, wherein there is none that rejoiceth, and wherein are no evil things whatsoever.

“Let me live with the god Hetep, clothed and not despoiled by the lords of the north, and may the lords of divine things bring food unto me; may he make me to go forward and may I come forth, and may he bring my power to me there, and may I receive it, and may my equipment be from the god Hetep. May I gain the mastery over the great and mighty word which is in my body in this my place, and by it I will remember and I will forget. Let me go forward on my journey, and let me plow. I am at peace in the divine city,⁵⁶ and I know the waters, cities, nomes, and lakes which are in Sekher-hetep. I exist therein, I am strong therein, I become a *khu* therein, I eat therein, I sow seed therein, I reap the harvest therein, I plow therein, I make love therein, I am at peace with the god Hetep therein. Behold I scatter seed therein, I sail about among its lakes and I come forward to the cities thereof, O divine Hetep. Behold, my mouth is

⁵⁶ Or, “I am at peace with the god of the city.”

equipped with my horns for teeth, grant me an overflowing supply of the food whereon the *kas* and *khus* live. I have passed the judgment of Shu upon him that knoweth him, so that I may go forth to the cities thereof, and may sail about among its lakes and may walk about in Sekhet-hetep; and behold, Re is in heaven, and behold, the god Hetep is its double offering. I have come onward to its land, I have put on my girdle, I have come forth so that the gifts which are about to be given unto me may be given, I have made gladness for myself. I have laid hold upon my strength which the god Hetep hath greatly increased for me. O Unen-em-hetep,⁵⁷ I have entered in to thee and my soul followeth after me, and my divine food is upon both my hands, O Lady of the two lands,⁵⁸ who stablishest my word whereby I remember and forget; I would live without injury, without any injury being done unto me, oh, grant to me, oh, do thou grant to me, joy of heart.

"Make thou me to be at peace, bind thou up my sinews and muscles, and make me to receive the air. O Unen-em-hetep, thou Lady of the winds, I have entered in to thee and I have opened (*i.e.*, shown) my head. Re falleth asleep, but I am awake, and there is the goddess Hast at the gate of heaven by night. Obstacles have been set before me, but I have gathered together what he hath emitted. I am in my city. O Nut-urt,⁵⁹ I have entered into thee and I have counted my harvest, and I go forward to Uakh.⁶⁰ I am the Bull enveloped in turquoise, the lord of the Field of the Bull, the lord of the divine speech of the goddess Septet (Sothis) at her hours. O Uakh, I have entered into thee, I have eaten my bread, I have gotten the mastery over choice pieces of the flesh of oxen and of feathered fowl, and the birds of Shu have been given unto me; I follow after the gods and I come after the divine *kas*. O Tchefet,⁶¹ I have entered in to thee. I

⁵⁷ *I.e.*, "Existence in Peace," the name of the first large section of the Elysian Fields.

⁵⁸ The name of a pool in the second section of the Elysian Fields.

⁵⁹ The name of a pool in the first section of the Elysian Fields.

⁶⁰ The name of a pool in the second section of the Elysian Fields.

⁶¹ The name of a district in the third section of the Elysian Fields.

array myself in apparel, and I gird myself with the *sa* garment of Re; now behold, he is in heaven, and those who dwell therein follow Re, and I follow Re in heaven. O Unen-enhetep, lord of the two lands, I have entered in to thee, and I have plunged into the lakes of Tchesert; behold me, for all filth hath departed from me. The Great God groweth therein, and behold, I have found food therein; I have snared feathered fowl and I feed upon the finest of them. O Qengentet,⁶² I have entered into thee, and I have seen the Osiris my father, and I have gazed upon my mother, and I have made love. I have caught the worms and serpents, and I am delivered. And I know the name of the god who is opposite to the goddess Tchesert, and who hath straight hair and is equipped with two horns; he reapeth, and I both plow and reap.

"O Hast, I have entered in to thee, I have driven back those who would come to the turquoise sky, and I have followed the winds of the company of the gods. The Great God hath given my head unto me, and he who hath bound on me my head is the Mighty one who hath turquoise eyes, namely, Ari-en-ab-f (*i.e.*, he doeth as he pleaseth). O Usert,⁶³ I have come into thee at the head of the house wherein divine food is brought for me. O Smam,⁶³ I have come into thee. My heart watcheth, my head is equipped with the white crown, I am led into celestial regions, and I make to flourish terrestrial objects, and there is joy of heart for the Bull, and for celestial beings, and for the company of the gods. I am the god who is the Bull, the lord of the gods, as he goeth forth from the turquoise sky. O divine nome of wheat and barley, I have come unto thee, I have come forward to thee and I have taken up that which followeth me, namely, the best of the libations of the company of the gods. I have tied up my boat in the celestial lakes, I have lifted up the post at which to anchor. I have recited the prescribed words with my voice, and I have ascribed praises unto the gods who dwell in Sekhet-hetep."

⁶² The name of a pool in the first section of the Elysian Fields.

⁶³ The name of a pool in the third section of the Elysian Fields.

OF KNOWING THE SOULS OF PE

ANOTHER CHAPTER OF KNOWING THE SOULS OF PE. The overseer of the palace, the chancellor-in-chief, Nu, triumphant, saith:

“Hail, Khat, who dwellest in Khat, in Anpet,⁶⁴ and in the nome of Khat! Hail, ye goddesses of the chase who dwell in the city of Pe, ye celestial lands, ye stars, and ye divine beings, who give cakes and ale, do ye know for what reason the city of Pe hath been given unto Horus? I, even I, know though ye know it not. Behold, Re gave the city unto him in return for the injury in his eye, for which cause Re said to Horus, ‘Let me see what is coming to pass in thine eye,’ and forthwith he looked thereat. Then Re said to Horus, ‘Look at that black pig,’ and he looked, and straightway an injury was done unto his eye, namely, a mighty storm took place. Then said Horus unto Re, ‘Verily, my eye seems as if it were an eye upon which Suti had inflicted a blow’; and thus saying he ate his heart.⁶⁵ Then said Re to those gods, ‘Place ye him in his chamber, and he shall do well.’ Now the black pig was Suti who had transformed himself into a black pig, and he it was who had aimed the blow of fire which was in the eye of Horus. Then said Re unto those gods, ‘The pig is an abominable thing unto Horus; oh, but he shall do well although the pig is an abomination unto him.’ Then the company of the gods, who were among the divine followers of Horus when he existed in the form of his own child, said, ‘Let sacrifices be made to the gods of his bulls, and of his goats, and of his pigs.’ Now the father of Mesthi, Hapi, Tuamauf, and Qebhsennuf is Horus, and their mother is Isis. Then said Horus to Re, ‘Give me two divine brethren in the city of Pe and two divine brethren in the city of Nekhen, who have sprung from my body and who shall be with me in the guise of everlasting judges, then shall the earth blossom and thunder-clouds and rain be blotted out.’ And

⁶⁴ A name of the city of Mendes, the metropolis of the sixteenth nome of Lower Egypt.

⁶⁵ *I.e.*, he lost his temper and raged.

the name of Horus became 'Her-uatch-f' (*i.e.*, Prince of his emerald stone). I, even I, know the Souls of Pe, namely, Horus, Mesthi, and Hapi."

OF KNOWING THE SOULS OF NEKHEN

THE CHAPTER OF KNOWING THE SOULS OF NEKHEN. The overseer of the palace, the chancellor-in-chief, Nu, triumphant, saith:

"I know the hidden things of the city of Nekhen, that is to say, the things which the mother of Horus did for him, and how she made her voice to go forth over the waters, saying, 'Speak ye unto me concerning the judgment which is upon me, and show me the path behind you, and let me discover it'; and how Re said, 'This son of Isis hath perished'; and what the mother of Horus did for him when she cried out, saying, 'Sebek, the lord of the papyrus-swamp, shall be brought to us.' And Sebek fished for them and he found them, and the mother of Horus made them to grow in the places to which they belonged. Then Sebek, the lord of his papyrus-swamp, said, 'I went and I found the place where they had passed with my fingers on the edge of the waters, and I enclosed them in my net: and strong was that net.' And Re said, 'So then, there are fish with the god Sebek, and he hath found the hands and arms of Horus for him in the land of fish'; and that land became the land of the city of Remu (*i.e.*, Fish). And Re said, 'A land of the pool, a land of the pool to this net.' Then were the hands of Horus brought to him at the uncovering of his face at the festivals of the month and half month in the Land of Remu. And Re said, 'I give the city of Nekhen to Horus for the habitation of his two arms and hands, and his face shall be uncovered before his two hands and arms in the city of Nekhen; and I give into his power the slaughtered beings who are in them at the festivals of the month and half month.' Then Horus said, 'Let me carry off Tuamauf and Qebhsennuf, and let them watch over my body; and if they are allowed to be there, then shall

they be subservient to the god of the city of Nekhen.' And Re said, 'It shall be granted unto thee there and in the city of Senket (*i.e.*, Sati), and there shall be done for them what hath been done for those who dwell in the city of Nekhen, and verily they shall be with thee.' And Horus said, 'They have been with thee and now they shall be with me, and shall harken unto the god Suti when he calleth upon the Souls of Nekhen.' Grant to me that I, even I, may pass on to the Souls of Nekhen, and that I may unloose the bonds of Horus. I, even I, know the Souls of Nekhen, namely, Horus, Tuamautef, and Qebhsennuf."

OF KNOWING THE SOULS OF KHEMENNU

THE CHAPTER OF KNOWING THE SOULS OF KHEMENNU (Hermopolis).

"The goddess Maat is carried by the arm at the shining of the goddess Neith in the city of Mentchat, and at the shining of the Eye when it is weighed. I am carried over by it and I know what it bringeth from the city of Kesi,⁶⁶ and I will neither declare it unto men nor tell it unto the gods. I have come, being the envoy of Re, to stablish Maat upon the arm at the shining of Neith in the city of Mentchat and to adjudge the eye to him that shall scrutinize it. I have come as a power through the knowledge of the Souls of Khemennu (Hermopolis) who love to know what ye love. I know Maat, which hath germinated, and hath become strong, and hath been judged, and I have joy in passing judgment upon the things which are to be judged. Homage to you, O ye Souls of Khemennu, I, even I, know the things which are unknown on the festivals of the month and half month. Re knoweth the hidden things of the night, and know ye that it is Thoth who hath made me to have knowledge.

"Homage to you, O ye Souls of Khemennu, since I know you each day."

⁶⁶ *I.e.*, Cusæ, the metropolis of the fourteenth nome of Upper Egypt.

OF COMING FORTH FROM HEAVEN

THE CHAPTER OF COMING FORTH FROM HEAVEN, AND OF MAKING A WAY THROUGH THE AMMEHET, AND OF KNOWING THE SOULS OF ANNU (HELIOPOLIS). The chancellor-in-chief, Nu, triumphant, saith:

"I have passed the day since yesterday among the great divine beings, and I have come into being along with the god Khepera. My face is uncovered before the Eye, the only One, and the orbit of the night hath been opened. I am a divine being among you. I know the Souls of Annu. Shall not the god Urma pass over it as he journeyeth forward with vigor? Have I not overcome, and have I not spoken to the gods? Behold, he that is the heir of Annu hath been destroyed. I, even I, know for what reason was made the lock of hair of the Man. Re spake unto the god Ami-haf, and an injury was done unto his mouth, that is to say, he was wounded in that mouth. And Re spake unto the god Ami-haf, saying, 'O heir of men, receive thy harpoon'; and the harpoon-house came into being. Behold, O god Ami-haf, two divine brethren have come into being, that is to say, Senti-Re came into being, and Sentem-ansi-f came into being. And his hand stayed not, and he made his form into that of a woman with a lock of hair which became the divine lock of Annu, and which became the strong and mighty one in this temple; and it became the strong one of Annu, and it became the heir of the heir of Ur-maat-f (*i.e.*, the mighty one of the two eyes), and it became before him the god Urma of Annu. I know the Souls of Annu, namely, Re, Shu, and Tefnut."

OF KNOWING THE SOULS OF KHEMENNU

ANOTHER CHAPTER OF KNOWING THE SOULS OF KHEMENNU (HERMOPOLIS). The chancellor-in-chief, Nu, triumphant, saith:

"The goddess Neith shineth in Matchat, and the goddess Maat is carried by the arm of him who eateth the Eye, and

who is its divine judge, and the Sem priest carrieth me over upon it. I will not declare it unto men, and I will not tell it unto the gods; I will not declare it unto men, and I will not tell it unto the gods. I have entered in being an ignorant man, and I have seen the hidden things. Homage to you, O ye gods who dwell in Khemennu, ye know me even as I know the goddess Neith, and ye give to the Eye the growth which endureth. There is joy to me at the judgment of the things which are to be judged. I, even I, know the Souls of Annu; they are great at the festival of the month, and are little at the festival of the half month. They are Thoth the Hidden one, and Sa, and Tem."

IF THIS CHAPTER BE KNOWN BY THE DECEASED OFFAL SHALL BE AN ABOMINATION UNTO HIM, AND HE SHALL NOT DRINK FILTHY WATER.

OF RECEIVING PATHS

THE CHAPTER OF RECEIVING PATHS WHEREON TO WALK IN RE-STAU. The chancellor-in-chief, Nu, triumphant, saith:

"The paths which are above me lead to Re-stau. I am he who is girt about with his girdle and who cometh forth from the goddess of the *Ureret* crown. I have come, and I have stablished things in Abtu (Abydos), and I have opened out paths in Re-stau. The god Osiris hath eased my pains. I am he who maketh the waters to come into being, and who setteth his throne thereon, and who maketh his path through the funeral valley and through the Great Lake. I have made my path, and indeed I am Osiris.

"Osiris was victorious over his enemies, and the Osiris Nebqet is victorious over his enemies. He hath become as one of yourselves, O ye gods, his protector is the Lord of eternity, he walketh even as ye walk, he standeth even as ye stand, he sitteth even as ye sit, and he talketh even as ye talk in the presence of the Great God, the Lord of Amentet."

OF COMING FORTH FROM RE-STAU

THE CHAPTER OF COMING FORTH FROM RE-STAU. The chancellor-in-chief, Nu, triumphant, saith:

"I was born in Re-stau, and splendor hath been given unto me by those who dwell in their spiritual bodies (*sahu*) in the habitation where libations are made unto Osiris. The divine ministers who are in Re-stau shall receive me when Osiris is led into the twofold funeral region of Osiris; oh, let me be a divine being whom they shall lead into the twofold funeral region of Osiris."

OF COMING FORTH FROM RE-STAU

THE CHAPTER OF COMING FORTH FROM RE-STAU.⁶⁷ The chancellor-in-chief, Nu, triumphant, saith:

"I am the Great God who maketh his light. I have come to thee, O Osiris, and I offer praise unto thee. I am pure from the issues which are carried away from thee. Thy name is made in Re-stau, and thy power is in Abtu (*Abydos*). Thou art raised up, then, O Osiris, and thou goest round about through heaven with Re, and thou lookest upon the generations of men, O thou One who circlest, thou Re. Behold, verily, I have said unto thee, O Osiris, 'I am the spiritual body of the God,' and I say, 'Let it come to pass that I shall never be repulsed before thee, O Osiris.'"

[The following is the chapter in a fuller form:]

THE CHAPTER OF KNOWING THE NAME OF OSIRIS AND OF ENTERING INTO AND OF GOING OUT FROM RE-STAU IN ALL THE FORMS WHEREIN HE WILLETH TO COME FORTH. The scribe Mes-em-neter, triumphant, saith:

"I am the Great Name who maketh his light. I have come to thee, O Osiris, and I offer praise unto thee. I am

⁶⁷ A fuller title of this chapter is, "The Chapter of knowing the name of Osiris, and of going into and of coming forth from Re-stau."

pure from the issues which are carried away from thee. Thy name hath been made in Re-stau when it hath fallen therein. Homage to thee, O Osiris, in thy strength and in thy power, thou hast obtained the mastery in Re-stau. Thou art raised up, O Osiris, in thy might and in thy power, thou art raised up, O Osiris, and thy might is in Re-stau, and thy power is in Abtu (Abydos). Thou goest round about through heaven, and thou sailest before Re, and thou lookest upon the generations of men, O thou Being who circlest, thou Re. Behold, verily, I have said unto thee, O Osiris, 'I am the spiritual body of the God,' and I say, 'Let it come to pass that I shall never be repulsed before thee, O Osiris.'"

OF GOING ABOUT IN THE UNDERWORLD

THE CHAPTER OF GOING IN AFTER COMING FORTH FROM THE UNDERWORLD. The overseer of the palace, the chancellor-in-chief, Nu, triumphant, saith:

"Open unto me? Who then art thou? Whither goest thou? What is thy name? I am one of you, 'Assembler of Souls' is the name of my boat; 'Making the hair to stand on end' is the name of the oars; 'Watchful one' is the name of its bows; 'Evil is it' is the name of the rudder; 'Steering straight for the middle' is the name of the Matchabet; so likewise the boat is a type of my sailing onward to the pool.

"Let there be given unto me vessels of milk, together with cakes, and loaves of bread, and cups of drink, and pieces of meat in the Temple of Anpu," or (as others say), "Grant thou me these things wholly. Let it be so done unto me that I may enter in like a hawk, and that I may come forth like the *Bennu* bird, and like the Morning Star. Let me make my path so that I may go in peace into the beautiful Amentet, and let the Lake of Osiris be mine. Let me make my path, and let me enter in, and let me adore Osiris, the Lord of life."

OF ENTERING INTO THE GREAT HOUSE

THE CHAPTER OF ENTERING INTO THE GREAT HOUSE. The overseer of the palace, the chancellor-in-chief, Nu, triumphant, saith:

"Homage to thee, O Thoth. I am Thoth, who have weighed the two divine Fighters (*i.e.*, Horus and Set), I have destroyed their warfare and I have diminished their wailings. I have delivered the *Atu* fish in his turning back, and I have performed that which thou didst order concerning him, and afterward I lay down within my eye. I am he who hath been without opposition. I have come; do thou look upon me in the Temple of Nem-hra (or Uhem-hra). I give commands in the words of the divine aged ones, and, moreover, I guide for thee the lesser deities."

OF ENTERING THE PRESENCE

THE CHAPTER OF GOING INTO THE PRESENCE OF THE DIVINE SOVEREIGN PRINCES OF OSIRIS. The overseer of the palace, the chancellor-in-chief, Nu, triumphant, saith:

"My soul hath built for me a habitation in the city of Tattu; I sow seed in the city of Pe, and I plow my field with my laborers, and for this reason my palm-tree is like Amsu. That which is an abomination unto me, that which is an abomination unto me I shall not eat. That which is an abomination unto me, that which is an abomination unto me is filth. I shall not eat thereof; by sepulchral meals and food I shall not be destroyed. The abominable thing I shall not take into my hands, I shall not walk upon it in my sandals, because my cakes are made of white grain, and my ale is made of red grain, and behold, the *Sektet* boat and the *Matet* boat bring them to me, and I eat thereof under the branches of the trees, the beautiful arms of which I know. Oh, let splendor be prepared for me with the white crown which is lifted up upon me by the uræi-goddesses. Hail, thou guardian of the divine doors of the god Sehetep-tauí (*i.e.*, 'he

who maketh the world to be at peace'), bring thou to me that of which they make sepulchral meals; grant thou that I may lift up the branches. May the god of light open to me his arms, and may the company of the gods keep silence while the denizens of heaven talk with the chancellor-in-chief, Nu, triumphant. I am the leader of the hearts of the gods which strengthen me, and I am a mighty one among the divine beings.

"If any god, or any goddess, shall come forth against me he shall be judged by the ancestors of the year who live upon hearts and who make cakes for me, and Osiris shall devour him at his coming forth from Abtu (Abydos). He shall be judged by the ancestors of Re, and he shall be judged by the God of Light who clotheth heaven among the divine princes. I shall have bread in my mouth at stated seasons, and I shall enter in before the gods Ahiu. He shall speak with me, and I shall speak with the followers of the gods. I shall speak with the Disk and I shall speak with the denizens of heaven. I shall put the terror of myself into the blackness of night which is in the goddess Meh-urt, who is near him that dwelleth in might. And behold, I shall be there with Osiris. My condition of completeness shall be his condition of completeness among the divine princes. I shall speak unto him with the words of men, and he shall repeat unto me the words of the gods. A *khu* who is equipped with power shall come.⁶⁸ I am a *khu* who is equipped with power; I am equipped with the power of all the *khus*, being the form of the *Sahu* (i.e., spiritual bodies) of Annu, Tattu, Sutenhenen, Abtu, Apu, and Sennu.⁶⁹ The Osiris Auf-ankh is victorious over every god and every goddess who are hidden in Neter-khertet."

⁶⁸ The Papyrus of Mes-em-neter adds, "bringing right unto thee the divine being who loveth her."

⁶⁹ I.e., Heliopolis, Mendes or Busiris, Heracleopolis, Abydos, Panopolis, and Sennu (a city near Panopolis).

THE INTRODUCTION TO MAATI

THE CHAPTER OF ENTERING INTO THE HALL OF DOUBLE MAATI; A HYMN OF PRAISE TO OSIRIS, THE GOVERNOR OF AMENTET. Osiris, the scribe Ani, triumphant, saith:

"I have come, and I have drawn nigh to see thy beauties; my hands are raised in adoration of thy name 'Right and Truth.' I came and I drew nigh unto the place where the acacia-tree groweth not, where the tree thick with leaves existeth not, and where the ground yieldeth neither herb nor grass. Then I entered into the hidden place, and I spake with the god Set, and my protector advanced to me, and his face was clothed (or covered), and he fell upon the hidden things. He entered into the Temple of Osiris, and he looked upon the hidden things which were therein; and the sovereign chiefs of the pylons were in the form of *kh*us. And the god Anpu spake to those who were on both sides of him with the speech of a man as he came from Ta-mera;⁷⁰ he knoweth our paths and our cities. I make offerings, and I smell the odor of him as if he were one among you, and I say unto him, I am Osiris, the scribe Ani, triumphant in peace, triumphant! I have come, and I have drawn nigh to see the great gods, and I feed upon the offerings which are among their food. I have been to the borders of the territory of Ba-neb-Tettet (*i.e.*, the 'Soul, the lord of Tattu,' or Osiris), and he hath caused me to come forth like a *Bennu* bird, and to utter words. I have been in the water of the stream, and I have made offerings of incense. I have guided myself to the *Shentet* tree of the divine children. I have been in Abu (*i.e.*, Elephantine) in the Temple of the goddess Satet. I have submerged the boat of mine enemies while I myself have sailed over the Lake in the *Neshmet* boat. I have seen the *Sahu* (*i.e.*, the spiritual bodies) in the city of Qem-ur. I have been in the city of Tattu, and I have brought myself to silence therein. I have caused the god to have the mastery over his two feet. I have been in the Temple of Tep-tu-f

⁷⁰ *I.e.*, the "Land of the inundation," a name of Egypt.

(i.e., 'he that is on his hill, or Anubis), and I have seen him that is lord of the divine temple. I have entered into the Temple of Osiris, and I have arrayed myself in the apparel of him that is therein. I have entered into Re-stau, and I have seen the hidden things which are therein. I was shrouded therein, but I found a way for myself. I have gone into the city of An-aarret-f (i.e., the place where nothing groweth), and I covered my nakedness with the garments which were therein. There was given unto me the *anti* unguent such as women use, along with the powder of human beings. Verily Sut hath spoken unto me the things which concern himself, and I said, 'Let thy weighing be in us.'

"The Majesty of the god Anpu saith, 'Knowest thou the name of this door so as to declare it unto me?' And Osiris, the scribe Ani, triumphant in peace, triumphant! saith, 'Destroyer of the god Shu' is the name of this door. The Majesty of the god Anpu saith, 'Knowest thou the name of the upper leaf and of the lower leaf?' 'Lord of Maat upon his two feet' is the name of the upper leaf, and 'Lord of two-fold strength, the subduer of cattle,' is the name of the lower leaf. The Majesty of the god Anpu saith, 'Since thou knowest pass on, O Osiris, the scribe, the teller of the divine offerings of all the gods of Thebes, Ani, triumphant, the lord of reverence.'"

THE INTRODUCTION TO MAATI

THE FOLLOWING SHALL BE SAID WHEN THE OVERSEER OF THE PALACE, THE CHANCELLOR-IN-CHIEF, NU, TRIUMPHANT, COMETH FORTH INTO THE HALL OF DOUBLE MAATI ⁷¹ SO THAT HE MAY BE SEPARATED FROM EVERY SIN WHICH HE HATH DONE AND MAY BEHOLD THE FACES OF THE GODS. The Osiris Nu, triumphant, saith:

"Homage to thee, O Great God, thou Lord of Double

⁷¹ In other papyri this chapter is called: (1) "The Chapter of going into the Hall of double Maati"; (2) "The Chapter of the Hall of double Maati and of knowing what is therein"; and (3) "The Book of entering into the Hall of double Maati."

Maati, I have come to thee, O my Lord, and I have brought myself hither that I may behold thy beauties. I know thee, and I know thy name, and I know the names of the two and forty gods who exist with thee in this Hall of double Maati, who live as warders of sinners and who feed upon their blood on the day when the lives of men are taken into account in the presence of the god Un-nefer; in truth 'Rekhti-merti-neb-Maati' (*i.e.*, 'twin-sisters with two eyes, ladies of double Maati') is thy name. In truth I have come to thee, and I have brought Maat (*i.e.*, right and truth) to thee, and I have destroyed wickedness for thee. I have not done evil to mankind. I have not oppressed the members of my family, I have not wrought evil in the place of right and truth. I have had no knowledge of worthless men. I have not wrought evil. I have not made to be the first consideration of each day that excessive labor should be performed for me. I have not brought forward my name for exaltation to honors. I have not ill-treated servants. I have not thought scorn of God. I have not defrauded the oppressed one of his property.⁷² I have not done that which is an abomination unto the gods. I have not caused harm to be done to the servant by his chief. I have not caused pain. I have made no man to suffer hunger. I have made no one to weep. I have done no murder. I have not given the order for murder to be done for me. I have not inflicted pain upon mankind. I have not defrauded the temples of their oblations. I have not purloined the cakes of the gods. I have not carried off the cakes offered to the *khus*. I have not committed fornication. I have not polluted myself in the holy places of the god of my city, nor diminished from the bushel. I have neither added to nor filched away land. I have not encroached upon the fields of others. I have not added to the weights of the scales to cheat the seller. I have not misread the pointer of the scales to cheat the buyer. I have not carried away the milk from the mouths of children. I have not driven away the cattle which were upon their pastures. I have not snared the feathered fowl of the preserves of the gods. I have not

⁷² Variant, "I have not caused misery, I have not caused affliction."

caught fish with bait made of fish of their kind. I have not turned back the water at the time when it should flow. I have not cut a cutting in a canal of running water. I have not extinguished a fire (or light) when it should burn. I have not violated the times⁷³ of offering the chosen meat-offerings. I have not driven off the cattle from the property of the gods. I have not repulsed God in his manifestations. I am pure. I am pure. I am pure. I am pure. My purity is the purity of that great *Bennu* which is in the city of Suten-henen (Heracleopolis), for, behold, I am the nose of the God of the winds, who maketh all mankind to live on the day when the Eye (Utchat) of Re is full in Annu (Heliopolis) at the end of the second month⁷⁴ of the season Pert (*i.e.*, the season of growing) in the presence of the divine lord of this earth. I have seen the Eye of Re when it was full in Annu, therefore let not evil befall me in this land and in this Hall of double Maati, because I, even I, know the names of these gods who are therein and who are the followers of the great god."

THE NEGATIVE CONFESSION

The scribe Nebseni, triumphant, saith:

1. "Hail, thou whose strides are long, who comest forth from Annu (Heliopolis), I have not done iniquity.
2. "Hail, thou who art embraced by flame, who comest forth from Kher-aba,⁷⁵ I have not robbed with violence.
3. "Hail, thou divine Nose (Fenti), who comest forth from Khemennu (Hermopolis), I have not done violence to any man.
4. "Hail, thou who eatest shades, who comest forth from the place where the Nile riseth,⁷⁶ I have not committed theft.

⁷³ Variant, "I have not defrauded the gods of their chosen meat-offerings."

⁷⁴ *I.e.*, the month called by the Copts Mekhir, the sixth month of the Egyptian year.

⁷⁵ A city near Memphis.

⁷⁶ The "Qerti," or caverns out of which flowed the Nile, were thought to be situated between Aswan and Philæ.

5. "Hail, Neha-hau,⁷⁷ who comest forth from Re-stau, I have not slain man or woman.

6. "Hail, thou double Lion-god, who comest forth from heaven, I have not made light the bushel.

7. "Hail, thou whose two eyes are like flint,⁷⁸ who comest forth from Sekhem (Letopolis), I have not acted deceitfully.

8. "Hail, thou Flame, who comest forth as thou goest back, I have not purloined the things which belong unto God.

9. "Hail, thou Crusher of bones, who comest forth from Suten-henen (Heracleopolis), I have not uttered falsehood.

10. "Hail, thou who makest the flame to wax strong, who comest forth from Het-ka-Ptah (Memphis), I have not carried away food.

11. "Hail, Qerti, (*i.e.*, the two sources of the Nile), who come forth from Amentet, I have not uttered evil words.

12. "Hail, thou whose teeth shine, who comest forth from Ta-she (*i.e.*, the Fayyum), I have attacked no man.

13. "Hail, thou who dost consume blood, who comest forth from the house of slaughter, I have not killed the beasts, which are the property of God.

14. "Hail, thou who dost consume the entrails, who comest forth from the *mabet* chamber, I have not acted deceitfully.

15. "Hail, thou god of Right and Truth, who comest forth from the city of double Maati, I have not laid waste the lands which have been plowed.

16. "Hail, thou who goest backward, who comest forth from the city of Bast (Bubastis), I have never pried into matters to make mischief.

17. "Hail, Aati, who comest forth from Annu (Heliopolis), I have not set my mouth in motion against any man.

18. "Hail, thou who art double evil, who comest forth from the nome of Ati,⁷⁹ I have not given way to wrath concerning myself without a cause.

⁷⁷ Variant, Neha-hra.

⁷⁸ Variant, "like fire."

⁷⁹ *I.e.*, the ninth nome of Lower Egypt, the capital of which was Per-Ausar or Busiris.

19. "Hail, thou serpent Uamemti, who comest forth from the house of slaughter, I have not defiled the wife of a man.

20. "Hail, thou who lookest upon what is brought to him, who comest forth from the Temple of Amsu, I have not committed any sin against purity.

21. "Hail, Chief of the divine Princes, who comest forth from the city of Nehatu,⁸⁰ I have not struck fear into any man.

22. "Hail, Khemiu (*i.e.*, Destroyer), who comest forth from the Lake of Kaui, I have not encroached upon sacred times and seasons.

23. "Hail, thou who orderest speech, who comest forth from Urit, I have not been a man of anger.

24. "Hail, thou Child, who comest forth from the Lake of Heq-at,⁸¹ I have not made myself deaf to the words of right and truth.

25. "Hail, thou disposer of speech, who comest forth from the city of Unes,⁸² I have not stirred up strife.

26. "Hail, Basti, who comest forth from the Secret city, I have made no man to weep.

27. "Hail, thou whose face is turned backward, who comest forth from the Dwelling, I have not committed acts of impurity, neither have I lain with men.

28. "Hail, Leg of fire, who comest forth from Akhekhu, I have not eaten my heart.⁸³

29. "Hail, Kenemti, who comest forth from the city of Kenemet, I have abused no man.

30. "Hail, thou who bringest thine offering, who comest forth from the city of Sau (Sais) I have not acted with violence.

31. "Hail, thou god of faces, who comest forth from the city of Tchefet, I have not judged hastily.

32. "Hail, thou who givest knowledge, who comest forth

⁸⁰ The "City of the Sycamore," a name of a city of Upper Egypt.

⁸¹ The thirteenth nome of Lower Egypt.

⁸² The metropolis of the nineteenth nome of Upper Egypt.

⁸³ *I.e.*, "lost my temper and become angry."

from Unth, I have not . . . and I have not taken vengeance upon the god.

33. "Hail, thou lord of two horns, who comest forth from Satiu, I have not multiplied my speech overmuch.

34. "Hail, Nefer-Tem, who comest forth from Het-ka-Ptah (Memphis), I have not acted with deceit, and I have not worked wickedness.

35. "Hail, Tem-Sep, who comest forth from Tattu, I have not uttered curses on the King.

36. "Hail, thou whose heart doth labor, who comest forth from the city of Tebti, I have not fouled water.

37. "Hail, Ahi of the water, who comest forth from Nu, I have not made haughty my voice.

38. "Hail, thou who givest commands to mankind, who comest forth from Sau, I have not cursed the god.

39. "Hail, Neheb-nefert, who comest forth from the Lake of Nefer, I have not behaved with insolence.

40. "Hail, Neheb-kau, who comest forth from thy city, I have not sought for distinctions.

41. "Hail, thou whose head is holy, who comest forth from thy habitations, I have not increased my wealth, except with such things as are justly mine own possessions.

42. "Hail, thou who bringest thine own arm, who comest forth from Aukert (underworld), I have not thought scorn of the god who is in my city."

ADDRESS TO THE GODS OF THE UNDERWORLD

THEN SHALL THE HEART WHICH IS RIGHTEOUS AND SIN-
LESS SAY: ⁸⁴

The overseer of the palace, the chancellor-in-chief, Nu, triumphant, saith:

"Homage to you, O ye gods who dwell in the Hall of

⁸⁴ These words are added from Papyrus No. 9905 in the British Museum. Other papyri introduce the address with the words: (1) "To be said when the deceased cometh forth victorious from the Hall of double Maati"; (2) "To be said when he cometh forth to the gods of the underworld"; (3) "The words which are to be said after the Hall of double Maati."

double Maati, I, even I, know you, and I know your names. Let me not fall under your knives of slaughter, and bring ye not forward my wickedness unto the god in whose train ye are; and let not evil hap come upon me by your means. Oh, declare ye me right and true in the presence of Neb-er-tcher, because I have done that which is right and true in Ta-mera (Egypt). I have not cursed God, and let not evil hap come upon me through the king who dwelleth in my day. Homage to you, O ye gods, who dwell in the Hall of double Maati, who are without evil in your bodies, and who live upon right and truth, and who feed yourselves upon right and truth in the presence of the god Horus, who dwelleth in his divine Disk: deliver ye me from the god Baba who feedeth upon the entrails of the mighty ones upon the day of the great judgment. Oh, grant ye that I may come to you, for I have not committed faults, I have not sinned, I have not done evil, I have not borne false witness; therefore let nothing evil be done unto me. I live upon right and truth, and I feed upon right and truth. I have performed the commandments of men as well as the things whereat are gratified the gods, I have made the gods to be at peace with me by doing that which is their will. I have given bread to the hungry man, and water to the thirsty man, and apparel to the naked man, and a boat to the shipwrecked mariner. I have made holy offerings to the gods, and sepulchral meals to the *Khus*. Be ye then my deliverers, be ye then my protectors, and make ye not accusation against me in the presence of the Great God. I am clean of mouth and clean of hands; therefore let it be said unto me by those who shall behold me, 'Come in peace; come in peace,' for I have heard that mighty word which the spiritual bodies (*sahu*)⁸⁵ spake unto the Cat in the House of Hapt-re. I have been made to give evidence before the god Hra-f-ha-f (*i.e.*, he whose face is behind me), and he hath given a decision concerning me. I have seen the things over which the persea-tree spreadeth its branches within Re-stau. I am he who hath offered up prayers to the gods and who knoweth their

⁸⁵ The ordinary reading is, "For I have heard the word which was spoken by the Ass with the Cat."

persons. I have come and I have advanced to make the declaration of right and truth, and to set the balance upon what supporteth it within the region of Aukert. Hail, thou who art exalted upon thy standard, thou lord of the *Atefu* crown, whose name is proclaimed as 'Lord of the winds,' deliver thou me from thy divine messengers who cause dire deeds to happen, and who cause calamities to come into being, and who are without coverings for their faces, for I have done that which is right and true for the Lord of right and truth. I have purified myself and my breast with libations, and my hinder parts with the things which make clean, and my inner parts have been in the Pool of Right and Truth. There is no single member of mine which lacketh right and truth. I have been purified in the Pool of the South, and I have rested in the northern city which is in the Field of the Grasshoppers, wherein the divine sailors of Re bathe at the second hour of the night and at the third hour of the day. And the hearts of the gods are gratified after they have passed through it, whether it be by night or whether it be by day, and they say unto me, 'Let thyself come forward.' And they say unto me, 'Who, then, art thou?' And they say unto me, 'What is thy name?' 'I am he who is equipped under the flowers and I am the dweller in his olive-tree,' is my name. And they say unto me straightway, 'Pass thou on'; and I passed on by thy city to the north of the olive-tree. What then, didst thou see there? The leg and the thigh. What, then, didst thou say unto them? Let me see rejoicings in those lands of the Tenkhu.⁸⁶ And what did they give unto thee? A flame of fire and a tablet (or scepter) of crystal. What, then, didst thou do therewith? I buried them by the furrow of Manaat as 'things for the night.' What, then, didst thou find by the furrow of Manaat? A scepter of flint, the name of which is 'Giver of winds.' What, then, didst thou do to the flame of fire and the tablet (or scepter) of crystal after thou hadst buried them? I uttered words over them in the furrow, and I dug them out therefrom; I extinguished the fire, and I broke

⁸⁶ A people who dwelt, probably, on the northeast frontier of Egypt, and who have been by some identified with the Phenicians.

the tablet (or scepter), and I created a pool of water. 'Come, then,' they say, 'and enter in through the door of this Hall of double Maati, for thou knowest us.'

" 'We will not let thee enter in through us,' say the bolts of the door, 'unless thou tellest us our names'; 'Tongue of the Balance of the place of right and truth' is your name. 'I will not let thee enter in by me,' saith the right lintel of the door, 'unless thou tellest me my name'; 'Balance of the support of right and truth' is thy name. 'I will not let thee enter in by me,' saith the left lintel of the door, 'unless thou tellest me my name'; 'Balance of wine' is thy name. 'I will not let thee pass over me,' saith the threshold of this door, 'unless thou tellest me my name'; 'Ox of the god Seb' is thy name. 'I will not open unto thee,' saith the fastening of this door, 'unless thou tellest me my name'; 'Flesh of his mother' is thy name. 'I will not open unto thee,' saith the socket of the fastening of the door, 'unless thou tellest me my name'; 'Living eye of the god Sebek, the lord of Bakhau,' is thy name. 'I will not open unto thee and I will not let thee enter in by me,' saith the guardian of the leaf of this door, 'unless thou tellest me my name'; 'Elbow of the god Shu when he placeth himself to protect Osiris' is thy name. 'We will not let thee enter in by us,' say the posts of this door, 'unless thou tellest us our names'; 'Children of the uræi-goddesses' is your name.⁸⁷ 'Thou knowest us,' they say, 'pass on, therefore, by us.'

" 'I will not let thee tread upon me,' saith the floor of the Hall of double Maati, 'because I am silent and I am holy, and because I do not know the names of thy two feet where-with thou wouldst walk upon me; therefore tell them to me.' 'Traveler of the god Khas' is the name of my right foot, and 'Staff of the goddess Hathor' is the name of my left foot. 'Thou knowest me,' it saith, 'pass on therefore over me.'

" 'I will not make mention of thee,' saith the guardian of

⁸⁷ The Papyrus of Nu continues: "'I will not open unto thee and I will not let thee pass by me,' saith the Guardian of this door, 'unless thou tellest me thy name'; 'Ox of Seb' is thy name.'"

the door of this Hall of double Maati, unless thou tellest me my name'; 'Discerner of hearts and searcher of the reins' is thy name. 'Now will I make mention of thee to the god. But who is the god that dwelleth in his hour? Speak thou it' (*i.e.*, his name). Maau-Tauī (*i.e.*, he who keepeth the record of the two lands) is his name. 'Who then is Maau-Tauī?' He is Thoth. 'Come,' saith Thoth. 'But why hast thou come?' I have come, and I press forward that I may be mentioned. What now is thy condition? I, even I, am purified from evil things, and I am protected from the baleful deeds of those who live in their days; and I am not among them. 'Now will I make mention of thee to the god.'⁸⁸ 'Tell me now, who is he whose heaven is of fire, whose walls are surmounted by living uræi, and the floor of whose house is a stream of water? Who is he? I say.' It is Osiris. 'Come forward, then: verily thou shalt be mentioned to him. Thy cakes shall come from the Eye of Re, and thine ale shall come from the Eye of Re, and the sepulchral meals which shall be brought to thee upon earth shall come from the Eye of Re. This hath been decreed for the Osiris the overseer of the palace, the chancellor-in-chief Nu, triumphant.'"

(THE MAKING OF THE REPRESENTATION OF WHAT SHALL HAPPEN IN THIS HALL OF DOUBLE MAATI.) THIS CHAPTER SHALL BE SAID BY THE DECEASED AFTER HE HATH BEEN CLEANSSED AND PURIFIED, AND WHEN HE IS ARRAYED IN APAREL, AND IS SHOD WITH WHITE LEATHER SANDALS, AND HIS EYES HAVE BEEN PAINTED WITH ANTIMONY, AND HIS BODY HATH BEEN ANOINTED WITH UNGUENT OF ANTI, AND WHEN HE OFFERETH OXEN, AND FEATHERED FOWL, AND INCENSE, AND CAKES, AND ALE, AND GARDEN HERBS. AND BEHOLD, THOU SHALT DRAW A REPRESENTATION OF THIS IN COLOR UPON A NEW TILE MOLDED FROM EARTH UPON WHICH NEITHER A PIG NOR OTHER ANIMALS HAVE TRODDEN. AND IF THOU DOEST THIS BOOK UPON IT IN WRITING, THE DECEASED SHALL FLOURISH, AND HIS CHILDREN SHALL FLOURISH, AND HIS NAME SHALL NEVER FALL INTO OBLIVION, AND HE SHALL BE AS ONE

⁸⁸ Here the papyrus repeats a passage given above.

WHO FILLETH (*i.e.*, SATISFIETH) THE HEART OF THE KING AND OF HIS PRINCES, AND BREAD, AND CAKES, AND SWEETMEATS, AND WINE, AND PIECES OF FLESH SHALL BE GIVEN UNTO HIM UPON THE ALTAR OF THE GREAT GOD; AND HE SHALL NOT BE TURNED BACK AT ANY DOOR IN AMENTET, AND HE SHALL BE BROUGHT IN ALONG WITH THE KINGS OF UPPER AND LOWER EGYPT, AND HE SHALL BE IN THE TRAIN OF OSIRIS ⁸⁹ CONTINUALLY AND REGULARLY FOREVER.

OF THE FOUR APES ⁹⁰

The overseer of the palace, the chancellor-in-chief, Nu, triumphant, the son of the overseer of the palace, the chancellor-in-chief, Amen-hetep, triumphant, saith:

“Hail, ye four apes who sit in the bows of the boat of Re, who convey right and truth to Neb-er-tcher, who sit in judgment on my misery and on my strength, who make the gods to rest contented by means of the flame of your mouths, who offer holy offerings to the gods and sepulchral meals to the *khus*, who live upon right and truth, and who feed upon right and truth of heart, who are without deceit and fraud, and to whom wickedness is an abomination, do ye away with my evil deeds, and put ye away my sin which deserved stripes upon earth, and destroy ye any evil whatsoever that belongeth unto me, and let there be no obstacle whatsoever on my part toward you. Oh grant ye that I may make my way through the underworld (*ammehet*), let me enter into Re-stau, let me pass through the hidden pylons of Amentet. Oh, grant that there may be given to me cakes, and ale, and sweetmeats, even as they are given to the living *khus*, and grant that I may enter in and come forth from Re-stau.

“The four apes make answer, saying, ‘Come, then, for we have done away with thy wickedness, and we have put away thy sin, along with the sin deserving of stripes which

⁸⁹ After “Osiris” a Paris papyrus adds, “He shall come forth in whatsoever form he is pleased to appear as a living soul forever and ever.”

⁹⁰ This chapter has no title either in the Theban or in the Saïte Recension.

thou didst commit upon earth, and we have destroyed all the evil which belonged to thee upon the earth. Enter, therefore, into Re-stau, and pass thou through the hidden pylons of Amentet, and there shall be given unto thee cakes, and ale, and sweetmeats, and thou shalt come forth and thou shalt enter in at thy desire, even as do those *khush* who are favored of the god, and thou shalt be proclaimed (or called) each day in the horizon."

OF THE PRAISE OF THE GODS

THE BOOK OF THE PRAISE OF THE GODS OF THE QERTI ⁹¹ WHICH A MAN SHALL RECITE WHEN HE COMETH FORTH BEFORE THEM TO ENTER IN TO SEE GOD IN THE GREAT TEMPLE OF THE UNDERWORLD. And he shall say:

"Homage to you, O ye gods of the *Qerti*, ye divine dwellers in Amentet! Homage to you, O ye guardians of the doors of the underworld, who keep ward over the god, who bear and proclaim the names of those who come into the presence of the god Osiris, and who hold yourselves ready, and who praise him, and who destroy the Enemies of Re. Oh send ye forth your light and scatter ye the darkness which is about you, and behold ye the holy and divine Mighty One, O ye who live even as he liveth, and call ye upon him that dwelleth within his divine Disk. Lead ye the King of the North and of the South (Usr-Maat-Re-setep-en-Amen), the son of the Sun (Ra-meses-meri-Amen-Re-heq-Maat), through your doors, may his divine soul enter into your hidden places, for he is one among you, and he hath shot forth calamities upon the serpent fiend Apep, and he hath beaten down the obstacles which Apep set up in Amentet. Thy word hath prevailed mightily over thine enemies, O great God, who livest in thy divine Disk; thy word hath prevailed mightily over thine enemies, O Osiris, Governor of Amentet; thy word hath prevailed mightily over thine enemies in heaven and in earth, O thou King of the North and of the South (Usr-Maat-Re-setep-en-Amen), the son of the Sun (Ra-

⁹¹ I.e., districts or divisions of the underworld.

meses-meri-Amen-Re-heq-Maat), and over the sovereign princes of every god and of every goddess, O Osiris, Governor of Amentet; he hath uttered words in the presence of the god in the valley of the dead, and he hath gained the mastery over the mighty sovereign princes. Hail, ye doorkeepers, hail, ye doorkeepers, who guard your gates, who punish souls, who devour the bodies of the dead, who advance over them at their examination in the places of destruction, who give right and truth to the soul and to the divine *kh*u, the beneficent one, the mighty one, whose throne is holy in Akert, who is endowed with soul like Re, and who is praised like Osiris, lead ye along the King of the North and of the South (Usr-Maat-Re-setep-en-Amen), the son of the Sun (Ra-meses-meri-Amen-Re-heq-Maat), unbolt ye for him the doors, and open ye the place of his *Qerti* for him. Behold, make ye his word to triumph over his enemies, and indeed let meat-offerings and drink-offerings be made unto him by the god of the double door, and let him put on the *nemmes* crown of him that dwelleth in the great and hidden shrine. Behold the image of Heru-khuti (Harmachis), who is doubly true, and who is the divine Soul and the divine and perfect *Kh*u; he hath prevailed with his hands. The two great and mighty gods cry out to the King of the North and South (Usr-Maat-Re-setep-en-Amen), the son of the Sun (Ra-meses-meri-Amen-Re-heq-Maat), they rejoice with him, they sing praises to him and clap their hands, they accord him their protection, and he liveth. The King of the North and South (Usr-Maat-Re-setep-en-Amen), the son of the Sun (Ra-meses-meri-Amen-Re-heq-Maat), riseth like a living soul in heaven. He hath been commanded to make his transformations, he hath made himself victorious before the divine sovereign chiefs, and he hath made his way through the gates of heaven, and of earth, and of the underworld, even as hath Re. The King of the North and South (Usr-Maat-Re-setep-en-Amen), the son of the Sun (Ra-meses-meri-Amen-Re-heq-Maat), saith, 'Open unto me the gates of heaven, and of earth, and of the underworld, for I am the divine soul of Osiris and I rest in him, and let me pass through their halls.

Let the gods sing praises unto me when they see me; let me enter and let favor be shown unto me; let me come forth and let me be beloved; and let me go forward, for no defect or failure hath been found clinging unto me.' ”

ADORATION OF THE GODS OF THE *QERTI*

A CHAPTER TO BE RECITED ON COMING BEFORE THE DIVINE SOVEREIGN CHIEFS OF OSIRIS TO OFFER PRAISE UNTO THE GODS WHO ARE THE GUIDES OF THE UNDERWORLD. Osiris, the chief scribe and draughtsman, Ptah-mes, triumphant, saith:

“Homage to you, O ye gods who dwell in the *Qerti*, ye gods who dwell in Amentet, who keep ward over the gates of the underworld and are the guardians thereof, who bear and proclaim the names of those who come into the presence of Osiris, who praise him and who destroy the enemies of Re. Oh, send forth your light and scatter ye the darkness which is about you, and look upon the face of Osiris, O ye who live even as he liveth, and praise ye him that dwelleth in his Disk, and lead ye me away from your calamities. Let me come forth and let me enter in through your secret places, for I am a mighty prince among you, for I have done away with evil there, and I have beaten down the obstacles which have been set up in Amentet. Thou hast been victorious over thine enemies, O thou that dwellest in thy Disk; thou hast been victorious over thine enemies, O Thoth, who producest statutes; thou hast been victorious over thine enemies, O Osiris, the chief scribe and draughtsman, Ptah-mes, triumphant; thou has been triumphant over thine enemies, O Osiris, thou Governor of Amentet, in heaven and upon earth and in the presence of the divine sovereign chiefs of every god and of every goddess; and the food of Osiris, the Governor of Amentet, is in the presence of the god whose name is hidden before the great divine sovereign chiefs. Hail ye guardians of the doors, ye gods who keep ward over their habitations, who keep the reckoning and who commit souls to destruction, who grant right and truth to the divine soul which is stablished, who are without evil in the abode of

Akert, who are endowed with soul even as is Re, and who are . . . as is Osiris, guide ye Osiris the chief scribe, the draughtsman, Ptah-mes, triumphant, open ye unto him the gates of the underworld, and the uppermost part of his estate and his *Qert*. Behold, make ye him to be victorious over his enemies, provide ye him with the offerings of the god of the underworld, make noble the divine being who dwelleth in the *nemmes* crown, the lord of the knowledge of Akert. Behold, stablish . . . this soul in right and truth, and let it become a perfect soul that hath gained the mastery with its two hands. The great and mighty gods cry out, 'He hath gotten the victory,' and they rejoice in him, and they ascribe praise unto him with their hands, and they turn unto him their faces. The living one is triumphant, and is even like a living soul dwelling in heaven, and he hath been ordered to perform his transformations. Osiris triumphed over his enemies, and Osiris, the chief scribe and draughtsman, Ptah-mes, triumphant, hath gained the victory over his enemies in the presence of the great divine sovereign chiefs who dwell in heaven, and in the presence of the great divine sovereign chiefs who dwell upon the earth."

HYMN OF PRAISE TO OSIRIS

A HYMN OF PRAISE TO OSIRIS. The Osiris Auf-ankh, triumphant, saith:

"Homage to thee, O Osiris Un-nefer, triumphant, thou son of Nut, thou first-born son of Seb, thou mighty one who cometh forth from Nut, thou King in the city of Nifu-ur,⁹² thou Governor of Amentet, thou lord of Abtu (Abydos), thou lord of souls, thou mighty one of strength, thou lord of the *atef* crown in Suten-henen, thou lord of the divine form in the city of Nifu-ur, thou lord of the tomb, thou mighty one of souls in Tattu, thou lord of sepulchral offerings, thou whose festivals are many in Tattu. The god Horus exalteth his father in every place (or shrine), and he uniteth himself unto the goddess Isis and unto the goddess Nephthys; and the god

⁹² A name of the city of Abydos.

Thoth reciteth for him the mighty glorifyings which are within him, and which come forth from his mouth, and the heart of Horus is stronger than that of all the gods. Rise up, then, O Horus, thou son of Isis, and avenge thy father Osiris. Hail, O Osiris, I have come unto thee; I am Horus and I have avenged thee, and I feed this day upon the sepulchral meals of oxen, and feathered fowl, and upon all the beautiful things offered unto Osiris. Rise up, then, O Osiris, for I have struck down for thee all thine enemies, and I have taken vengeance upon them for thee. I am Horus upon this beautiful day of thy fair rising in thy Soul which exalteth thee along with itself on this day before thy divine sovereign princes. Hail, O Osiris, thy *ka* hath come unto thee and is with thee, and thou resteth therein in thy name of Ka-Hetep. I maketh thee glorious in thy name of *Khu*, and it maketh thee like unto the Morning Star in thy name of Pehu, and it openeth for thee the ways in thy name of Ap-uat. Hail, O Osiris, I have come unto thee and I have set thine enemies under thy feet in every place, and thou art triumphant in the presence of the company of the gods and of the divine sovereign chiefs. Hail, O Osiris, thou hast received thy scepter and the place whereon thou art to rest, and thy steps are under thee. Thou bringest food to the gods, and thou bringest sepulchral meals unto those who dwell in their tombs. Thou hast given thy might unto the gods and thou hast created the Great God; thou hast thy existence with them in their spiritual bodies, thou gatherest thyself unto all the gods, and thou hearest the word of right and truth on the day when offerings to this god are ordered on the festivals of Uka."

OF MAKING PERFECT THE *KHU*

ANOTHER CHAPTER OF MAKING PERFECT THE *KHU*, WHICH IS TO BE RECITED ON THE BIRTHDAY OF OSIRIS, AND OF MAKING TO LIVE THE SOUL FOREVER.⁹³ The chancellor-in-chief, Nu, triumphant, saith:

⁹³ Variant, "The Book of making the soul to live forever. To be

“The heavens are opened, the earth is opened, the West is opened, the East is opened, the southern half of heaven is opened, the northern half of heaven is opened, the doors are opened, and the gates are thrown wide open to Re as he cometh forth from the horizon. The *Sektet* boat openeth for him the double doors and the *Matet* boat bursteth open for him the gates; he breatheth, and the god Shu cometh into being, and he createth the goddess Tefnut. Those who are in the following of Osiris follow in his train, and the overseer of the palace, the chancellor-in-chief, Nu, triumphant, followeth on in the train of Re. He taketh his iron weapon and he forceth open the shrine even as doth Horus, and pressing onward he advanceth unto the hidden things of his habitation with the libations of his divine shrine; the messenger of the god that loveth him. The Osiris Nu, the overseer of the palace, the chancellor-in-chief, triumphant, bringeth forth the right and the truth, and he maketh to advance the going forward of Osiris. The Osiris Nu, the overseer of the palace, the chancellor-in-chief, triumphant, taketh in his hands the cordage and he bindeth fast the shrine. Storms are the things which he abominateth. Let no water-flood be nigh unto him, let not the Osiris Nu, the overseer of the palace, the chancellor-in-chief, triumphant, be repulsed before Re, and let him not be made to turn back; for, behold, the Eye is in his two hands. Let not the Osiris Nu, the overseer of the palace, the chancellor-in-chief, triumphant, walk in the valley of darkness, let him not enter into the Lake of those who are evil, and let him have no existence among the damned, even for a moment. Let not the Osiris Nu fall headlong among those who would lead him captive, and let not his soul go in among them. Let his divine face take possession of the place behind the block, the block of the god Septu.

“Hymns of praise be unto you, O ye divine beings of the Thigh, the knives of God work in secret, and the two arms and hands of God cause the light to shine; it is doubly pleasant unto him to lead the old unto him along with the young recited on the day of embarking in the boat of Re to pass over the chiefs of flame.”



HORUS, THE HAWK-GOD OF RIGHTEOUSNESS, SON OF ISIS AND OSIRIS.
AS THE GOD-CHILD HE RISES FROM A LOTUS, WITH THE
EMBLEMS OF SOVEREIGNTY, AND WITH FINGER ON
LIPS DENOTING HIS DIVINE WISDOM

at his season. Now, behold, the god Thoth dwelleth within his hidden places, and he performeth the ceremonies of libation unto the god who reckoneth millions of years, and he maketh a way through the firmament, and he doeth away with storms and whirlwinds from his stronghold, and the Osiris Nu, the overseer of the palace, the chancellor-in-chief, triumphant, arriveth in the places of his habitations. O ye divine beings of the Thigh, do ye away with his sorrow, and his suffering, and his pain, and may the sorrow of the Osiris Nu be altogether put away. Let the Osiris Nu, the overseer of the palace, the chancellor-in-chief, triumphant, gratify Re, let him make a way into the horizon of Re, let his boat be made ready for him, let him sail on happily, and let Thoth put light into his heart; then shall the Osiris Nu, triumphant, praise and glorify Re, and Re shall harken unto his words, and he shall beat down the obstacles which come from his enemies. I have not been shipwrecked, I have not been turned back to the horizon, for I am Re-Osiris, and the Osiris Nu, the overseer of the palace, the chancellor-in-chief, shall not be shipwrecked in the Great Boat. Behold him whose face is in the god of the Thigh, because the name of Re is in the body of the Osiris Nu, the overseer of the palace, the chancellor-in-chief, and his honor is in his mouth; he shall speak unto Re and Re shall harken unto his words.

“Hymns of praise unto thee, O Re, in the horizon, and homage unto thee, O thou that purifiest with light the denizens of heaven, O thou who hast sovereign power over heaven at that supreme moment when the paddles of thine enemies move with thee! The Osiris Nu, the overseer of the palace, the chancellor-in-chief, triumphant, cometh with the ordering of right and truth, for there is an iron firmament in Amentet which the fiend Apep hath broken through with his storms before the double Lion-god, and this will the Osiris Nu set in order; O harken ye, ye who dwell upon the top of the throne of majesty. The Osiris Nu shall come in among thy divine sovereign chiefs, and Re shall deliver him from Apep each day so that he may not come nigh unto him, and he shall make himself vigilant. The Osiris Nu shall have power over

the things which are written, he shall receive sepulchral meals, and the god Thoth shall provide him with the things which should be prepared for him. The Osiris Nu maketh right and truth to go round about the bows in the Great Boat, and hath triumph among the divine sovereign chiefs, and he establisheth it for millions of years. The divine chiefs guide him and give unto him a passage in the boat with joy and gladness; the first ones among the company of the sailors of Re are behind him, and he is happy. Right and truth are exalted, and they have come unto their divine lord, and praises have been ascribed unto the god Neb-er-tcher. The Osiris Nu, the overseer of the palace, the chancellor-in-chief, triumphant, hath taken in his hands the weapon and he hath made his way through heaven therewith; the denizens thereof have ascribed praises unto him as unto a divine being who standeth up and never sinketh to rest. The god Re exalteth him by reason of what he hath done, and he causeth him to make of none effect the whirlwind and the storm; he looketh upon his splendors, and he stablisheth his oars, and the boat saileth round about in heaven, rising like the sun in the darkness. Thoth, the mighty one, leadeth the Osiris Nu within his eye, and he sitteth upon his thighs in the mighty boat of Khepera; he cometh into being, and the things which he saith come to pass. The Osiris Nu advanceth, and he journeyeth round about heaven unto Amentet, the fiery deities stand up before him, and the god Shu rejoiceth exceedingly, and they take in their hands the bows of the boat of Re along with his divine mariners. Re goeth round about and he looketh upon Osiris. The Osiris Nu is at peace, the Osiris Nu is at peace. He hath not been driven back, the flame of thy moment hath not been taken away from him, O Re, the whirlwind and storm of thy mouth have not come forth against him, he hath not journeyed upon the path of the crocodile — for he abominateth the crocodile — and it hath not drawn nigh unto him. The Osiris Nu embarked in thy boat, O Re, he is furnished with thy throne, and he receiveth thy spiritual form. The Osiris Nu traveleth over the paths of Re at daybreak to drive back the fiend Nebt; he cometh

upon the flame of thy boat, O Re, upon that mighty Thigh. The Osiris Nu knoweth it, and he attaineth unto thy boat, and behold he sitteth therein; and he maketh sepulchral offerings."

THIS CHAPTER SHALL BE RECITED OVER A BOAT OF THE GOD RE WHICH HATH BEEN PAINTED IN COLORS IN A PURE PLACE, AND BEHOLD THOU SHALT PLACE A FIGURE OF THE DECEASED IN THE BOWS THEREOF, AND THOU SHALT PAINT A *SEKTET* BOAT UPON THE RIGHT SIDE THEREOF, AND AN *ATET* BOAT UPON THE LEFT SIDE THEREOF, AND THERE SHALL BE MADE UNTO THEM OFFERINGS OF BREAD, AND CAKES, AND WINE, AND OIL, AND EVERY KIND OF FAIR OFFERING UPON THE BIRTHDAY OF OSIRIS. IF THESE CEREMONIES BE PERFORMED HIS SOUL SHALL HAVE EXISTENCE, AND SHALL LIVE FOREVER, AND SHALL NOT DIE A SECOND TIME.⁹⁴

OF LIVING NIGH UNTO RE

THE CHAPTER OF HAVING EXISTENCE NIGH UNTO RE.⁹⁵
The overseer of the palace, the chancellor-in-chief, Nu, triumphant, saith:

"I am that god Re who shineth in the night. Every being who followeth in his train shall have life in the following of the god Thoth, and he shall give unto him the risings of

⁹⁴ The following is from the rubric to this chapter in the Saïte Recension:

"He shall know the hidden things of the underworld, he shall penetrate the hidden things in Neter-khertet (the underworld).

"This chapter was found in the large hall of the Temple under the reign of his Majesty Hesepti, triumphant, and it was found in the cavern of the mountain which Horus made for his father Osiris Unnefer, triumphant. Now since Re looketh upon this deceased in his own flesh, he shall look upon him as the company of the gods. The fear of him shall be great, and the awe of him shall be mighty in the heart of men, and gods, and *Khus*, and the damned. He shall be with his soul and shall live forever; he shall not die a second time in the underworld; and on the day of weighing of words no evil hap shall befall him. He shall be triumphant over his enemies, and his sepulchral meals shall be upon the altar of Re in the course of each day, day by day."

⁹⁵ Or, "The Chapter of making the way into heaven nigh unto Re."

Horus in the darkness. The heart of Osiris Nu, the overseer of the palace, the chancellor-in-chief, triumphant, is glad because he is one of those beings, and his enemies have been destroyed by the divine princes. I am a follower of Re, and I have received his iron weapon. I have come unto thee, O my father Re, and I have advanced to the god Shu. I have cried unto the mighty goddess, I have equipped the god Hu, and I alone have removed the Nebt god from the path of Re. I am a *Khu*, and I have come to the divine prince at the bounds of the horizon. I have met and I have received the mighty goddess. I have raised up thy soul in the following of thy strength, and my soul liveth through thy victory and thy mighty power; it is I who give commands in speech to Re, in heaven. Homage to thee, O great god in the east of heaven, let me embark in thy boat, O Re, let me open myself out in the form of a divine hawk, let me give my commands in words, let me do battle in my *Sekhem*, let me be master under my vine. Let me embark in thy boat, O Re, in peace, and let me sail in peace to the beautiful Amentet. Let the god Tem speak unto me, saying, 'Wouldst thou enter therein?' The lady, the goddess Mehen, is a million of years, yea, two million years in extent, and dwelleth in the House of Urt and Nif-urt and in the Lake of a million years; the whole company of the gods move about among those who are at the side of him who is the lord of divisions of places. And I say, 'On every road and among these millions of years is Re the lord, and his path is in the fire, and they go round about behind him, and they go round about behind him.' "

OF BRINGING MEN BACK TO EARTH

THE CHAPTER OF CAUSING A MAN TO COME BACK TO SEE HIS HOUSE UPON EARTH. The Osiris Ani saith:

"I am the Lion-god coming forth with extended strides. I have shot arrows and I have wounded the prey; I have shot arrows and I have wounded the prey. I am the Eye of Horus, and I pass through the Eye of Horus at this season.

I have arrived at the furrows; let the Osiris Ani advance in peace.”⁹⁶

OF MAKING PERFECT THE *KHU*

THE BOOK OF MAKING PERFECT THE *KHU*, WHICH IS TO BE RECITED ON THE DAY OF THE MONTH. The Osiris Nu, the overseer of the palace, the chancellor-in-chief, triumphant, saith:

“Re riseth in his horizon, and his company of the gods follow after him. The god cometh forth out of his hidden habitations, and food falleth out of the eastern horizon of heaven at the word of the goddess Nut who maketh plain the paths of Re, whereupon straightway the Prince goeth round about. Lift up then thyself, O thou Re, who dwellest in thy divine shrine, draw thou into thyself the winds, inhale the north wind, swallow thou the skin of thy net on the day wherein thou breathest right and truth. Thou separatest the divine followers, and thou sailest in thy boat to Nut; the divine princes march onward at thy word. Thou takest count of thy bones, thou gatherest together thy members, thou settest thy face toward the beautiful Amentet, and thou comest, being renewed each day. Behold, thou art that Image of gold, and thou dost possess the splendors of the disks of heaven, and art terrible; thou comest, being renewed each day. Hail, the horizon rejoiceth, and there are shouts of joy in the rigging of thy boat; when the gods who dwell in the heavens see the Osiris Nu, the overseer of the palace, the chancellor-in-chief, triumphant, they ascribe unto him as his due praises which are like unto those ascribed unto Re. The Osiris Nu, the overseer of the palace, the chancellor-in-chief, triumphant, is a divine prince and he seeketh the *ureret* crown of Re, and he, the only one, is strong in good fortune in that supreme body which is of those divine beings who are in the presence of Re. The Osiris Nu is strong both upon

⁹⁶ Another papyrus adds the words, “I have advanced, and behold, I have not been found light, and the Balance is empty of my affair.”

earth and in the underworld; and the Osiris Nu is strong like unto Re every day. The Osiris Nu shall not tarry, and he shall not lie without motion in this land forever. Being doubly beautiful he shall see with his two eyes, and he shall hear with his two ears; rightly and truly, rightly and truly. The Osiris Nu is like unto Re, and he setteth in order the oars of his boat among those who are in the train of Nu. He doth not tell that which he hath seen, and he doth not repeat that which he hath heard in the secret places. Hail, let there be shouts of joy to the Osiris Nu, who is of the divine body of Re, as he journeyeth over Nu, and who propitiateth the *Ka* of the god with that which he loveth. The Osiris Nu, the overseer of the palace, the chancellor-in-chief, is a hawk, the transformations of which are mighty (or manifold)."

THIS CHAPTER SHALL BE RECITED OVER A BOAT FOUR CUBITS IN ITS LENGTH AND MADE OF GREEN PORCELAIN ON WHICH HAVE BEEN PAINTED THE DIVINE SOVEREIGN CHIEFS OF THE CITIES; AND A HEAVEN WITH ITS STARS SHALL ALSO BE MADE, AND THIS THOU SHALT HAVE MADE CEREMONIALLY PURE BY MEANS OF NATRON AND INCENSE. AND, BEHOLD, THOU SHALT MAKE AN IMAGE OF RE IN YELLOW COLOR UPON A NEW PLAQUE AND SET IT AT THE BOWS OF THE BOAT, AND BEHOLD, THOU SHALT PLACE AN IMAGE OF THE *KHU* WHICH THOU DOST WISH TO MAKE PERFECT AND PLACE IT IN THIS BOAT, AND THOU SHALT MAKE IT TO TRAVEL ABOUT IN THE BOAT WHICH SHALL BE MADE IN THE FORM OF THE BOATS OF RE; AND HE SHALL SEE THE GOD RE HIMSELF THEREIN. LET NOT THE EYE OF ANY MAN WHATSOEVER LOOK UPON IT WITH THE EXCEPTION OF THINE OWN SELF, OF THY FATHER, OR THY SON, AND GUARD THIS WITH GREAT CARE. NOW THESE THINGS SHALL MAKE THE *KHU* PERFECT IN THE HEART OF RE, AND IT SHALL GIVE UNTO HIM POWER WITH THE COMPANY OF THE GODS; AND THE GODS SHALL LOOK UPON HIM AS A DIVINE BEING LIKE UNTO THEMSELVES; AND MANKIND AND THE DEAD SHALL LOOK UPON HIM AND SHALL FALL DOWN UPON THEIR FACES, AND HE SHALL BE SEEN IN THE UNDERWORLD IN THE FORM OF THE RADIANCE OF RE.

OF MAKING PERFECT THE *KHU*

ANOTHER CHAPTER OF MAKING PERFECT THE *KHU*.⁹⁷
 The Osiris Nu, the overseer of the palace, the chancellor-in-chief, triumphant, saith:

"Homage to thee, O thou who art within thy divine shrine, who shinest with rays of light and sendest forth radiance from thyself, who decreest joy for millions of years unto those who love him, who givest their hearts' desire unto mankind, thou god Khepera within thy boat who hast overthrown Apep. O ye children of the god Seb, overthrow ye the enemies of Osiris Nu, the overseer of the palace, the chancellor-in-chief, triumphant, and destroy ye them from the boat of Re; and the god Horus shall cut off their heads in heaven where they are in the form of feathered fowl, and their hind parts shall be on the earth in the form of animals and in the Lake in the form of fishes. Every male fiend and every female fiend shall the Osiris Nu, the overseer of the palace, the chancellor-in-chief, destroy, whether he descendest from the heaven, or whether he cometh forth from the earth, or whether they come upon the waters, or whether they advance toward the stars, the god Thoth, the son of Aner, coming forth from the Anerti, shall hack in pieces. The Osiris Nu is silent and dumb; cause ye this god, the mighty one of slaughter, the being greatly to be feared, to make himself clean in your blood and to bathe himself in your gore, and ye shall certainly be destroyed by him from the boat of his father Re. The Osiris Nu is the god Horus to whom his mother the goddess Isis hath given birth, and whom the goddess Nephthys hath nursed and dandled, even like Horus when he repulsed the fiends of the god Suti; and when they see the *ureret* crown stablished upon his head they fall down upon their faces and they glorify him. Behold, when men, and gods, and *Khus*, and the dead see the Osiris Nu in the form of Horus with the *ureret* crown stablished upon his head,

⁹⁷ In the Papyrus of Nebseni the title of this chapter reads: "The Chapter of embarking in the boat of Re and of being with those who are in his following."

they fall down upon their faces. And the Osiris Nu, the overseer of the palace, the chancellor-in-chief, triumphant, is victorious over his enemies in the heights of heaven, and in the depths thereof, and before the divine sovereign chiefs of every god and of every goddess."

THIS CHAPTER SHALL BE RECITED OVER A HAWK STANDING AND HAVING THE WHITE CROWN UPON HIS HEAD, AND OVER FIGURES OF TEM, SHU, TEFNUT, SEB, NUT, OSIRIS, ISIS, SUTI, AND NEPHTHYS PAINTED IN YELLOW COLOR UPON A NEW PLAQUE, WHICH SHALL BE PLACED IN A MODEL OF THE BOAT OF THE SUN, ALONG WITH A FIGURE OF THE DECEASED WHOM THOU WOULDST MAKE PERFECT. THESE SHALT THOU ANOINT WITH CEDAR-OIL, AND INCENSE SHALL BE OFFERED UP TO THEM ON THE FIRE, AND FEATHERED FOWL SHALL BE ROASTED. IT IS AN ACT OF PRAISE TO RE AS HE JOURNEYETH, AND IT SHALL CAUSE A MAN TO HAVE HIS BEING ALONG WITH RE DAY BY DAY, WHITHERSOEVER THE GOD VOYAGETH; AND IT SHALL DESTROY THE ENEMIES OF RE IN VERY TRUTH REGULARLY AND CONTINUALLY.

FOR THE NEW MOON

ANOTHER CHAPTER TO BE RECITED WHEN THE MOON RE-NEWETH ITSELF ON THE DAY OF THE MONTH. The Osiris Auf-ankh, triumphant, saith:

"Osiris unfettereth," or, (as others say,) "openeth the storm cloud in the body of heaven, and is unfettered himself; Horus is made strong happily each day. He whose transformations are great (or many) hath offerings made unto him at the moment, and he hath made an end of the storm which is in the face of the Osiris Auf-ankh, triumphant. Verily he cometh, and he is Re in his journeying, and he is the four celestial gods in the heavens above. The Osiris Auf-ankh, triumphant, cometh forth in his day, and he embarketh among the tackle of the boat."

IF THIS CHAPTER BE KNOWN BY THE DECEASED HE SHALL BECOME A PERFECT *KHU* IN THE UNDERWORLD, AND HE SHALL NOT DIE THEREIN A SECOND TIME, AND HE SHALL EAT HIS

FOOD SIDE BY SIDE WITH OSIRIS. IF THIS CHAPTER BE KNOWN BY HIM UPON EARTH HE SHALL BE LIKE UNTO THOTH, AND HE SHALL BE ADORED BY THE LIVING ONES; HE SHALL NOT FALL HEADLONG AT THE MOMENT OF ROYAL FLAME OF THE GODDESS BAST, AND THE MIGHTY PRINCESS SHALL MAKE HIM TO ADVANCE HAPPILY.

OF TRAVELING IN THE BOAT OF RE

ANOTHER CHAPTER OF TRAVELING IN THE GREAT BOAT OF RE. The Osiris Nu, the overseer of the palace, the chancellor-in-chief, triumphant, saith:

“Behold now, O ye luminaries in Annu, ye people in Kher-aba, the god Kha hath been born; his cordage hath been completed, and the instrument wherewith he maketh his way hath he grasped firmly. I have protected the implements of the gods, and I have delivered the boat Kha for him. I have come forth into heaven, and I have traveled therein with Re in the form of an ape, and have turned back the paths of Nut at the staircase of the god Sebek.”

OF MAKING PERFECT THE *KHU*

ANOTHER CHAPTER OF MAKING PERFECT THE *KHU*; it shall be recited on the festival of Six. The Osiris Nu, the overseer of the palace, the chancellor-in-chief, triumphant, saith:

“Behold now, O ye luminaries in Annu (Heliopolis), ye people in Kher-aba, the god hath been born; his cordage hath been completed, and the instrument wherewith he maketh his way he hath grasped firmly; and the Osiris Nu is strong with them to direct the implement of the gods. The Osiris Nu hath delivered the boat of the sun therewith . . . and he cometh forth into heaven. The Osiris Nu sailed round about in heaven, he travelth therein unto Nut, he journeyeth along with Re, and he voyageth therein in the form of apes; he turneth back the water-flood which is over the Thigh of the goddess Nut at the staircase of the god Sebak. The hearts of Seb and Nut are glad and repeat the name which is

new. Un-neferu reneweth his youth, Re is in his splendors of light, Unti hath his speech, and lo, the god of the Inundation is Prince among the gods. The taste of sweetness hath forced a way into the heart of the destitute one, and the lord of thy outcries hath been done away with, and the oars of the company of the gods are in vigorous motion. Adored be thou, O divine Soul, who art endowed more than the gods of the South and North in their splendors! Behold, grant thou that the Osiris Nu may be great in heaven even as thou art great among the gods; deliver thou him from every evil and murderous thing which may be wrought upon him by the Fiend, and fortify thou his heart. Grant thou, moreover, that the Osiris Nu may be stronger than all the gods, all the *Khus*, and all the dead. The Osiris Nu is strong and is the lord of powers. The Osiris Nu is the lord or right and truth which the goddess Uatchit worketh. The strength which protects the Osiris Nu is the strength which protects the god Re in heaven. O god Re, grant thou that the Osiris Nu may travel on in thy boat in peace, and do thou prepare a road whereon thy boat may journey onward; for the force which protecteth Osiris is the force which protecteth thee. The Osiris Nu driveth back the Crocodile from Re day by day. The Osiris Nu cometh even as doth Horus in the splendors of the horizon of heaven, and he directeth Re through the mansions of the sky; the gods rejoice greatly when the Osiris Nu repulseth the Crocodile. The Osiris Nu hath the amulet of the god, and the cloud of Nebt shall not come nigh unto him, and the divine guardians of the mansions of the sky shall not destroy him. The Osiris Nu is a divine being whose face is hidden, and he dwelleth within the Great House as the chief of the Shrine of the god. The Osiris Nu carrieth the words of the gods, to Re, and he cometh and maketh supplication unto the divine lord with the words of his message. The Osiris Nu is strong of heart, and he maketh his offering at the moment among those who perform the ceremonies of sacrifice."

THIS CHAPTER SHALL BE SAID OVER A FIGURE OF THE DECEASED WHICH SHALL BE PLACED IN A MODEL OF THE BOAT

OF THE SUN, AND BEHOLD, HE THAT RECITETH IT SHALL BE WASHED, AND SHALL BE CEREMONIALLY PURE, AND HE SHALL HAVE BURNT INCENSE BEFORE RE, AND SHALL HAVE OFFERED WINE, AND CAKES, AND ROASTED FOWL FOR THE JOURNEY OF THE DECEASED IN THE BOAT OF RE. NOW, EVERY *KHU* FOR WHOM SUCH THINGS ARE DONE SHALL HAVE AN EXISTENCE AMONG THE LIVING ONES, AND HE SHALL NEVER PERISH, AND HE SHALL HAVE A BEING LIKE UNTO THAT OF THE HOLY GOD; NO EVIL THING WHATSOEVER SHALL ATTACK HIM. AND HE SHALL BE LIKE UNTO A HAPPY *KHU* IN AMENTET, AND HE SHALL NOT DIE A SECOND TIME. HE SHALL EAT AND HE SHALL DRINK IN THE PRESENCE OF OSIRIS EACH DAY; HE SHALL BE BORNE ALONG WITH THE KINGS OF THE NORTH AND OF THE SOUTH EACH AND EVERY DAY; HE SHALL QUAFF WATER AT THE FOUNTAIN-HEAD; HE SHALL COME FORTH BY DAY EVEN AS DOTH HORUS; HE SHALL LIVE AND SHALL BECOME LIKE UNTO GOD; AND HE SHALL BE HYMNED BY THE LIVING ONES, EVEN AS IS RE EACH AND EVERY DAY CONTINUALLY AND REGULARLY FOREVER.

SAILING IN THE GREAT BOAT

THE CHAPTER OF SAILING IN THE GREAT BOAT OF RE TO PASS OVER THE CIRCLE OF BRIGHT FLAME. The Osiris Nu, the overseer of the palace, the chancellor-in-chief, triumphant, saith:

“Hail, ye bright and shining flames that keep your place behind Re, and which slay behind him, the boat of Re is in fear of the whirlwind and the storm; shine ye forth, then, and make ye yourselves visible. I have come daily along with the god Sek-hra from the bight of his holy lake, and I have seen the Maat goddesses pass along, and the lion-gods who belong unto them. Hail, thou that dwellest in the coffer who hast multitudes of plants, I have seen what is there. We rejoice, and their princes rejoice greatly, and their lesser gods are glad.

“I have made a way in front of the boat of Re, I have lifted myself up into his divine Disk, I shine brightly

through his splendors; he hath furnished himself with the things which are his, taking possession thereof as the lord of right and truth. And behold, O ye company of the gods, and thou ancestor of the goddess Isis, grant ye that he may bear testimony to his father, the lord of those who are therein. I have weighed the . . . in him as chief, and I have brought to him the goddess Tefnut and he liveth. Behold, come, come, and declare before him the testimony of right and truth of the lord Tem. I cry out at eventide and at his hour, saying, Grant ye unto me that I may come. I have brought unto him the jaws of the passages of the tomb; I have brought unto him the bones which are in Annu (Heliopolis); I have gathered together for him his manifold parts; I have driven back for him the serpent fiend Apep; I have spit upon his gashes for him; I have made my road and I have passed in among you. I am he who dwelleth among the gods, come, let me pass onward in the boat, the boat of the lord Sa. Behold, O Heru-ur, there is a flame, but the fire hath been extinguished. I have made my road, O ye divine fathers and your divine apes! I have entered upon the horizon, and I have passed on to the side of the divine princes, and I have borne testimony unto him that dwelleth in his divine boat. I have gone forward over the circle of bright flame which is behind the lord of the lock of hair which moveth round about. Behold, ye who cry out over yourselves, ye worms in your hidden places, grant ye that I may pass onward, for I am the mighty one, the lord of divine strength, and I am the spiritual body (*sah*) of the lord of divine right and truth made by the goddess Uatchit. His strength which protecteth is my strength which protecteth, which is the strength which protecteth Re. Grant ye that I may be in the following of Re, and grant ye that I may go round about with him in Sekhet-hetep and in the two lands.

“I am a great god, and I have been judged by the company of his gods; grant that divine, sepulchral meals may be given unto me.”

OF THE FOUR FLAMES

THE CHAPTER OF THE FOUR BLAZING FLAMES WHICH ARE MADE FOR THE *KHU*. Behold, thou shalt make four square troughs of clay, whereon thou shalt scatter incense, and thou shalt fill them with the milk of a white cow, and by means of these thou shalt extinguish the flame. The Osiris Nu, the overseer of the palace, the chancellor-in-chief, triumphant, saith:

“The fire cometh to thy *Ka*, O Osiris, governor of Amenti; the fire cometh to thy *Ka*, O Osiris Nu, the overseer of the palace, the chancellor-in-chief, triumphant. He that ordereth the night cometh after the day. The flame cometh to thy *Ka*, O Osiris, governor of those in Amenti, and the two sisters of Re come likewise. Behold, the flame riseth in Abtu (Abydos) and it cometh; and I cause it to come to the Eye of Horus. It is set in order upon thy brow, O Osiris, governor of Amenti, and it is fixed within thy shrine and riseth upon thy brow; it is set in order upon thy breast, O Osiris Nu, and it is fixed upon thy brow. The Eye of Horus is protecting thee, O Osiris, governor of Amenti, and it keepeth thee in safety; it casteth down headlong all thine enemies for thee and all thine enemies have fallen headlong before thee. O Osiris Nu, the Eye of Horus protecteth thee, it keepeth thee in safety, and it casteth down headlong all thine enemies. Thine enemies have fallen down headlong before thy *Ka*, O Osiris, governor of Amenti, the Eye of Horus protecteth thee, it keepeth thee in safety, and it hath cast down headlong all thine enemies. Thine enemies have fallen down headlong before thy *Ka*, O Osiris Nu, the overseer of the palace, the chancellor-in-chief, triumphant, the Eye of Horus protecteth thee, it keepeth thee in safety, it hath cast down headlong for thee all thine enemies, and thine enemies have fallen down headlong before thee. The Eye of Horus cometh, it is sound and well, and it sendeth forth rays like unto Re in the horizon; it covereth over with darkness the powers of Suti, it taketh possession thereof and it bringeth its flame against him upon its feet. The Eye of Horus is sound and well, thou eatest the flesh of thy body by means thereof.

and thou givest praise thereto. The four flames enter into thy *Ka*, O Osiris, governor of Amenti, the four flames enter into thy *ka*, O Osiris Nu, the overseer of the palace, the chancellor-in-chief, triumphant. Hail, ye children of Horus, Mesthi, Hapi, Tuamautef, and Qebhsennuf, ye have given your protection unto your divine Father Osiris, the governor of Amenti, grant ye your protection to the Osiris Nu, triumphant. Now, therefore, inasmuch as ye have destroyed the opponents of Osiris, the governor of Amenti, he liveth with the gods, and he hath smitten Suti, with his hand and arm since light dawned upon the earth, and Horus hath gotten power, and he hath avenged his divine Father Osiris himself; and inasmuch as your divine father hath been made vigorous through the union which ye have effected for him with the *Ka* of Osiris, the governor of Amenti — now the Eye of Horus hath avenged him, and it hath protected him, and it hath cast down headlong for him all his enemies, and all his enemies have fallen down before him — even so do ye destroy the opponents of the Osiris Nu, the overseer of the palace, the chancellor-in-chief, triumphant. Let him live with the gods, let him smite down his enemy, let him destroy him when light dawneth upon the earth, let Horus gain power and avenge the Osiris Nu, let the Osiris Nu have vigor through the union which ye have effected for him with his *ka*. O Osiris Nu, the Eye of Horus hath avenged thee, it hath cast down headlong all thine enemies for thee, and all thine enemies have fallen down headlong before thee. Hail, Osiris, governor of Amenti, grant thou light and fire to the happy soul which is in Suten-henen (Heracleopolis); and O ye children of Horus, grant ye power unto the living soul of the Osiris Nu within his flame. Let him not be repulsed and let him not be driven back at the doors of Amentet; oh let his offerings of bread and of linen garments be brought unto him among those of the lords of funeral oblations, oh, offer ye praises to the Osiris Nu, destroyer of his opponents in his form and in his attributes of a god of right and truth."

END OF THE BOOK OF THE DEAD

THE GREAT EMPIRE

(1600 B.C.—525 B.C.)

HYMNS TO THE ONE UNIVERSAL GOD

*“How manifold are thy works!
They are hidden from before us!
O sole God, whose power no other possesseth,
Thou didst create the earth according to thy heart,
While thou wast alone.”*

—HYMN OF THE PHARAOH IKHN-ATON.

HYMNS TO THE ONE UNIVERSAL GOD

(INTRODUCTION)

IF the chief interest of the literature of Egypt lies in the study of the growth of man's intellectual keenness, this is because man evolved in Egypt two great religious ideas, evolved them without the slightest evidence of the aid of any supernal power, or what we commonly call Revelation. These two remarkable ideas thus humanly developed were: first, the faith in immortality, the development of which we have already traced; and, secondly, the wholly separate conception of a single, universal, omnipotent deity.

This second idea burst upon Egypt in full splendor during the period of the Great Empire. We can trace the slow growth of the belief from earlier times, and apparently it was the natural outcome of the nation's experience. In the old days, when Egypt had been divided among many little States, each people had its own particular god or gods, and each recognized the existence of the rival deities of its neighbors. When one sovereign, with a court of carefully graded officials, reigned over all the Nile valley, a sort of similar hierarchy was gradually evolved as existing among the many gods. None was rejected; but they were loosely arranged in various ranks and duties, with Re and Osiris as the chief gods. There was even a glimmering sense that these two were really one, the source of life, the Sun-god.

All through the Middle Empire, however, these gods remained, even when they were conceived most broadly, merely Egyptian gods. The seafarers and desert-wanderers who visited Egypt from afar had other sovereigns than Pharaoh, and their gods were accepted as being different from those of Pharaoh.

When, however, the Great Empire began, and Thutmose III. and other conquerors extended their power far beyond Egypt's natural borders, there sprang up the idea of world-

dominion. Following upon this came the stupendous idea of a world-god, a Pharaoh among gods, an omnipotent deity who swayed the universe. Followed then the further logical deduction: to be omnipotent, he must also be eternal; and if he had existed before all things, then he must have created them. Hence he was the creator, alone in power. Other gods, if they existed, were as much his creations as were the beings of the visible world. This splendid view of the deity we find nobly expressed in the following hymns. There is no evidence, however, that Egyptian thought ever took the next great advance and saw that, if this sole Deity were omnipotent, he must also be omniscient and omnipresent.

Even the view of the one and omnipotent god did not find ready acceptance throughout Egypt. Probably the mass of the people never grasped it; and the priesthood was slow in granting it approval. The last sovereign of the mighty Eighteenth Dynasty, Amen-hotep IV., was the great kingly advocate of the new idea. He attempted violently to establish the worship of the "one god," whom he called Aton and identified anew as the sun. In his reforming enthusiasm Amen-hotep even changed his own name, which meant "worshiper of the god Amen," to Ikhn-aton, or "worshiper of Aton." The opening hymns in this section are his, or at least the voices of his period.

Stupendous as was the dominating power of an Egyptian monarch, Amen-hotep's utmost effort could not dethrone the long-established older gods. Both he and his dynasty perished in the religious struggle that followed, and the "one god, Aton," was forcibly rejected by the nation. Yet the monarch's great spiritual idea did not perish with its embodiment. The solemn realization of its vastness gradually permeated the Egyptian priesthood. More and more it thought of all its thousand deities as mere outward manifestations of the One. The later hymns in this section show this. Whether addressed to one god or another, to Re or Osiris or the Nile, it hails the divinity as universal and all-powerful. These hymns mark the highest development, both of religion and poetry, that Egypt ever reached.

HYMNS TO THE ONE UNIVERSAL GOD

HYMN TO ATON, THE CREATOR¹

SPLENDOR AND POWER OF ATON²

Thy dawning is beautiful in the horizon of the sky,
O living Aton, Beginning of life!
When thou risest in the eastern horizon
Thou fillest every land with thy beauty.
Thou art beautiful, great, glittering, high above every land,
Thy rays, they encompass the lands, even all that thou hast
made.
Thou art Re, and thou carriest them all away captive;³
Thou bindest them by thy love.
Though thou art far away, thy rays are upon earth;
Though thou art on high, thy footprints are the day.

NIGHT

When thou settest in the western horizon of the sky,
The earth is in darkness like the dead;
They sleep in their chambers,
Their heads are wrapped up,
Their nostrils are stopped,
And none seeth the other,
While all their things are stolen
Which are under their heads,
And they know it not.
Every lion cometh forth from his den,
All serpents, they sting.
Darkness . . .

¹ Most of the translations in this section are by Prof. Breasted, taken by permission from his "Development of Religion and Thought in Egypt." The Hymn to the Nile is translated by M. Paul Guieysse.

² The division into strophes is not in the original, but is indicated here for the sake of clearness. The titles of the strophes are inserted to aid the modern reader.

³ There is a pun here on the word Re, which is the same as the word used for "all."

The world is in silence,
He that made them resteth in his horizon.

DAY AND MAN

Bright is the earth when thou risest in the horizon.
When thou shinest as Aton by day
Thou drivest away the darkness.
When thou sendest forth thy rays,
The Two Lands (Egypt) are in daily festivity,
Awake and standing upon their feet
When thou hast raised them up.
Their limbs bathed, they take their clothing,
Their arms uplifted in adoration to thy dawning.
Then in all the world they do their work.

DAY AND THE ANIMALS AND PLANTS

All cattle rest upon their pasturage,
The trees and the plants flourish,
The birds flutter in their marshes,
Their wings uplifted in adoration to thee.
All the sheep dance upon their feet,
All winged things fly,
They live when thou hast shone upon them.

DAY AND THE WATERS

The barks sail up-stream and down-stream alike.
Every highway is open because thou dawnest.
The fish in the river leap up before thee.
Thy rays are in the midst of the great green sea.

CREATION OF MAN


Creator of the germ in woman,
Maker of seed in man,
Giving life to the son in the body of his mother,
Soothing him that he may not weep,
Nurse even in the womb,
Giver of breath to animate every one that he maketh!

When he cometh forth from the body . . . on the day of his birth,
 Thou openest his mouth in speech,
 Thou suppliest his necessities.

CREATION OF ANIMALS

When the fledgling in the egg chirps in the shell,
 Thou givest him breath therein to preserve him alive.
 When thou hast brought him together,
 To the point of bursting it in the egg,
 He cometh forth from the egg
 To chirp with all his might.
 He goeth about upon his two feet
 When he hath come forth therefrom.

THE WHOLE CREATION

How manifold are thy works! 
 They are hidden from before us,
 O sole God, whose powers no other possesseth.⁴
 Thou didst create the earth according to thy heart⁵
 While thou wast alone:
 Men, all cattle large and small,
 All that are upon the earth,
 That go about upon their feet;
 All that are on high,
 That fly with their wings.
 The foreign countries, Syria and Kush,
 The land of Egypt;
 Thou settest every man into his place,
 Thou suppliest his necessities.
 Every one has his possessions,
 And his days are reckoned.
 The tongues are divers in speech,
 Their forms likewise and their skins are distinguished.
 For thou makest different the strangers.

⁴ The shorter hymns follow the phrase "sole God," with the addition, "beside whom there is no other."

⁵ The word "heart" may mean either "pleasure" or "understanding" here.

WATERING THE EARTH IN EGYPT AND ABROAD

Thou makest the Nile in the Netherworld,
 Thou bringest it as thou desirest,
 To preserve alive the people.⁶
 For thou hast made them for thyself,
 The lord of them all, resting among them;
 Thou lord of every land, who risest for them.
 Thou Sun of day, great in majesty.
 All the distant countries,
 Thou makest also their life,
 Thou hast set a Nile in the sky;
 When it falleth for them,
 It maketh waves upon the mountains,
 Like the great green sea,
 Watering their fields in their town.

How excellent are thy designs, O lord of eternity!
 There is a Nile in the sky for the strangers
 And for the cattle of every country that go upon their feet.
 But the Nile, it cometh from the Netherworld for Egypt.

THE SEASONS

Thy rays nourish ⁷ every garden;
 When thou risest they live,
 They grow by thee.
 Thou makest the seasons
 In order to create all thy work:
 Winter to bring them coolness,
 And heat that they may taste thee.
 Thou didst make the distant sky to rise therein,
 In order to behold all that thou hast made,
 Thou alone, shining in thy form as living Aton,
 Dawning, glittering, going afar and returning.
 Thou makest millions of forms
 Through thyself alone;

⁶ The word is one used only of the people of Egypt.

⁷ The word used implies the nourishment of a mother at the breast.

Cities, towns, and tribes, highways and rivers.
 All eyes see thee before them,
 For thou art Aton of the day over the earth.

.....

REVELATION TO THE KING

Thou art in my heart,
 There is no other that knoweth thee
 Save thy son Ikhn-aton.⁸
 Thou hast made him wise
 In thy designs and in thy might.
 The world is in thy hand,
 Even as thou hast made them.
 When thou hast risen they live,
 When thou settest they die;
 For thou art length of life of thyself,
 Men live through thee,
 While their eyes are upon thy beauty
 Until thou settest.
 All labor is put away
 When thou settest in the west.

.....

Thou didst establish the world,
 And raise them up for thy son,
 Who came forth from thy limbs,
 The King of Upper and Lower Egypt,
 Living in Truth, Lord of the Two Lands,
 Nefer-khepru-Re, Wan-Re (Ikhn-aton),
 Son of Re, living in Truth, lord of diadems,
 Ikhn-aton, whose life is long;
 And for the chief royal wife, his beloved,
 Mistress of the Two Lands, Nefer-nefru-Aton, Nofretete,
 Living and flourishing forever and ever.

⁸ This is the name assumed by the King. As the worshiper of Aton he is Ikhn-aton.

THE KING'S OWN HYMN

Thy rising is beautiful, O living Aton, lord of Eternity;
Thou art shining, beautiful, strong;
Thy love is great and mighty,
Thy rays are cast into every face.
Thy glowing hue brings life to hearts,
When thou hast filled the Two Lands with thy love.
O God who himself fashioned himself,
Maker of every land,
Creator of that which is upon it:
Men, all cattle large and small,
All trees that grow in the soil.
They live when thou dawnest for them,
Thou art the mother and the father of all that thou hast made.
As for their eyes, when thou dawnest,
They see by means of thee.
Thy rays illuminate the whole earth,
And every heart rejoices because of seeing thee,
When thou dawnest as their lord.

When thou settest in the western horizon of the sky,
They sleep after the manner of the dead,
Their heads are wrapped up,
Their nostrils are stopped,
Until thy rising comes in the morning,
In the eastern horizon of the sky.
Their arms are uplifted in adoration of thee,
Thou makest hearts to live by thy beauty,
And men live when thou sendest forth thy rays,
Every land is in festivity:
Singing, music, and shoutings of joy
Are in the hall of the Benben-house,
Thy temple in Akhet-Aton, the seat of Truth,
Wherewith thou art satisfied.

Food and provision are offered therein;
 Thy pure son performs thy pleasing ceremonies,
 O living Aton, at his festal processions.
 All that thou hast made dances before thee,
 Thy august son rejoices, his heart is joyous,
 O living Aton, born in the sky every day.
 He begets his august son Wanre (Ikhn-aton)
 Like himself without ceasing,
 Son of Re, wearing his beauty, Nefer-khepru-Re, Wanre
 (Ikhn-aton),
 Even me, thy son, in whom thou art satisfied,
 Who bears thy name.
 Thy strength and thy might abide in my heart,
 Thou art Aton, living forever. . . .
 Thou hast made the distant sky to rise therein,
 In order to behold all that thou hast made,
 While thou wast alone.
 Millions of life are in thee to make them live,
 It is the breath of life in the nostrils to behold thy rays.⁹
 All flowers live and what grows in the soil
 Is made to grow because thou dawnest.
 They are drunken before thee.
 All cattle skip upon their feet;
 The birds in the marsh fly with joy,
 Their wings that were folded are spread,
 Uplifted in adoration to the living Aton,
 The maker . . .¹⁰

⁹ Variant: "Breath, it enters the nostrils when thou showest thyself to them."

¹⁰ The remainder of the line is lost. Only one of the five texts which exist from the beginning goes as far as this point. It also stopped at this place, so that only part of a line has been lost.

HYMNS TO RE AS SOLE GOD

I

Hail to thee! Re, lord of Truth,
Whose sanctuary is hidden, lord of gods,
Khepri in the midst of his bark,
Who commanded and the gods became;
Atum, who made the people,
Who determined the fashion of them,
Maker of their sustenance,
Who distinguished one color (race) from another;
Who hears the prayer of him who is in captivity,
Who is kindly of heart when one calls upon him,
Who saves the timid from the haughty,
Who separates the weak from the strong,
Lord of Knowledge, in whose mouth is Taste;
For love of whom the Nile comes,
Lord of sweetness, great in love,
At whose coming the people live.

II

Sole likeness, maker of what is,
Sole and only one, maker of what exists.
From whose eyes men issued,
From whose mouth the gods came forth,
Maker of herbs for the cattle,
And the tree of life for mankind,
Who maketh the sustenance of the fish in the stream,
And the birds that traverse the sky,
Who giveth breath to that which is in the egg,
And maketh to live the son of the worm,
Who maketh that on which the gnats live,
The worms and the insects likewise,
Who supplieth the needs of the mice in their holes,

Who sustaineth alive the birds in every tree.
Hail to thee, who hast made all these,
Thou sole and only one, with many arms,
Thou sleeper waking while all men sleep,
Seeking good things for his cattle. λ
Amon, enduring in all things,
Atum-Harakhte,
Praise to thee in all that they say,
Jubilation to thee, for thy tarrying with us,
Obeisance to thee, who didst create us,
“Hail to thee,” say all cattle;
“Jubilation to thee,” says every country,
To the height of heaven, to the breadth of earth,
To the depths of the sea.

HYMN TO THE NILE

I

Adoration to the Nile!
 Hail to thee, O Nile!
 who manifesteth thyself over this land,
 and comest to give life to Egypt!
 Mysterious is thy issuing forth from the darkness,
 on this day whereon it is celebrated!
 Watering the orchards created by Re ¹¹
 to cause all the cattle to live,
 thou givest the earth to drink, inexhaustible one!
 Path that descendeth from the sky, ¹²
 loving the bread of Seb and the first-fruits of Nepera,
 thou causest the workshops of Ptah ¹³ to prosper!

II

Lord of the fish, during the inundation,
 no bird alights on the crops.
 Thou createst the corn, thou bringest forth the barley,
 assuring perpetuity to the temples. ¹⁴
 If thou ceasest thy toil and thy work,
 then all that exists is in anguish.
 If the gods suffer in heaven ¹⁵
 then the faces of men waste away.

¹¹ The orchards of Re are mentioned in the Book of the Dead.

¹² This belief in the celestial origin of the Nile survived in Egypt, at all events as late as the time of Joinville (*"Histoire de Saint-Louis,"* ch. xl.).

¹³ Ptah is associated with the Nile in a list of divinities represented on a wall of the age of Ramses II. at Karnak.

¹⁴ In the Anastasi text: "Causing the temples to keep holiday."

¹⁵ The Nile is not only the dispenser of life to mankind, but also to the gods (see verses 4, 10, 13). In the Hymn it absorbs as it were all the gods, and even takes the place of Re in verse 14.

III

Then he torments the flocks of Egypt,
 and great and small are in agony.
 But all is changed for mankind when he comes;
 he is endowed with the qualities of Num.¹⁶
 If he shines, the earth is joyous,
 every stomach is full of rejoicing,
 every spine is happy,
 every jaw-bone crushes its food.

IV

He brings the offerings,¹⁷ as chief of provisioning;
 he is the creator of all good things,
 as master of energy, full of sweetness in his choice.
 If offerings are made it is thanks to him.
 He brings forth the herbage for the flocks,
 and sees that each god receives his sacrifices.
 All that depends on him is a precious incense.
 He spreads himself over Egypt,
 filling the granaries, renewing the marts,
 watching over the goods of the unhappy.

V

He is prosperous to the height of all desires,
 without fatiguing himself therefor.
 He brings again his lordly bark;
 he is not sculptured in stone, in the statues crowned with the
 uraeus serpent,
 he can not be contemplated.
 No servitors has he, no bearers of offerings!
 He is not enticed by incantations!
 None knows the place where he dwells,
 None discovers his retreat by the power of a written spell.¹⁸

¹⁶ Num, the divine creator, like Ptah, is similar to Ptah in his relation to the Nile. The two verses point out that all life is dependent on the Nile, an idea which is developed to excess in the verses following.

¹⁷ Funerary offerings made to the *ka*, or "double."

¹⁸ The gods had to submit to the power of incantations and magic

VI

No dwelling is there, which may contain thee!
 None penetrates within thy heart!
 Thy young men, thy children applaud thee
 and render unto thee royal homage.
 Stable are thy decrees for Egypt¹⁹
 before thy servants of the North!²⁰
 He stanches the water from all eyes
 and watches over the increase of his good things.

VII

Where misery existed, joy manifests itself;
 all beasts rejoice.
 The children of Sebek, the sons of Neit,²¹
 the cycle of the gods which dwells in him, are prosperous.
 No more reservoirs for watering the fields!
 He makes mankind valiant,
 enriching some, bestowing his love on others.
 None commands at the same time as himself.
 He creates the offerings without the aid of Neit,²²
 making mankind for himself with multiform care.

VIII

He shines when he issues forth from the darkness,
 to cause his flocks to prosper.
 It is his force that gives existence to all things;

formulæ. The Nile alone was excepted from this law; it remained enshrouded in mystery in its retreat near the two whirlpools often mentioned in the text and even alluded to by Herodotus.

¹⁹ So in the Anastasi text. The fixity of the periodic return of the Nile is probably referred to.

²⁰ Verse 5 has, however, stated that the Nile had no servants; perhaps the secondary gods are meant here who directed the spread of the waters over Egypt, that is to the north of the whirlpools from whence the Nile rose.

²¹ Neit is often represented with two crocodiles on the breast; her relation to Sebek, the crocodile-god, is difficult to define.

²² Neit appears here as the goddess of production; the Nile has no need of Neit (or perhaps the rain) in order to generate the crops; it makes its way throughout the country by means of canals and trenches.

nothing remains hidden for him.
 Let men clothe themselves to fill his gardens.
 He watches over his works,
 producing the inundation during the night.
 It is a god Ptah . . .
 He causes all his servants to exist,
 all writings and divine words,²³
 and that which he needs in the North.

IX

It is with the words that he penetrates into his dwelling;
 he issues forth at his pleasure through the magic spells.²⁴
 Thy unkindness brings destruction to the fish;
 it is then that prayer is made for the (annual) water of the
 season;
 Southern Egypt is seen in the same state as the North.
 Each one is with his instruments of labor,
 none remains behind his companions.
 None clothes himself with garments,
 the children of the noble put aside their ornaments.
 The night remains silent,
 but all is changed by the inundation;
 it is a healing-balm for all mankind.

X

Establisher of justice! mankind desires thee,
 supplicating thee to answer their prayers;
 thou answerest them by the inundation!
 Men offer the first-fruits of corn;
 all the gods adore thee!
 The birds descend not on the soil.
 It is believed that with thy hand of gold
 thou makest bricks of silver!
 But we are not nourished on lapis lazuli;
 corn alone gives vigor.

²³ The Nile inspires Thoth, the scribe of the divine utterances.

²⁴ The Nile is unaffected by incantations, but serves himself with them at his pleasure in order to manifest himself.

XI

A festal song is raised for thee on the harp,
 with the accompaniment of the hand.
 Thy young men and thy children acclaim thee
 and prepare their long exercises.
 Thou art the august ornament of the earth,
 letting thy bark advance before men,
 lifting up the heart of women in labor,
 and loving the multitude of the flocks.

XII

When thou shinest in the royal city,²⁵
 the rich man is sated with good things,
 the poor man even disdains the lotus;
 all that is produced is of the choicest;
 all the plants exist for thy children.
 If thou hast refused to grant nourishment,
 the dwelling is silent, devoid of all that is good
 the country falls exhausted.

XIII

O inundation of the Nile,
 offerings are made unto thee,
 oxen are immolated to thee,
 great festivals are instituted for thee.
 Birds are sacrificed to thee,
 gazelles are taken for thee in the mountain,
 pure flames are prepared for thee.²⁶
 Sacrifice is made to every god as it is made to the Nile.
 The Nile has made its retreats in Southern Egypt,
 its name is not known beyond the Tuat.²⁷
 The god manifests not his forms,
 he baffles all conception.

²⁵ Probably Thebes, the residence of the Pharaohs at the time when the Hymn was composed. No other city can be meant, as otherwise the mythological text would have mentioned it. Thebes, moreover, is near Silsilis, where the height of the Nile was measured.

²⁶ These offerings are mentioned in the decrees of Silsilis.

²⁷ The other world.



NUT, THE WORLD-MOTHER, WHO BROUGHT FORTH ALL EXISTING THINGS,
ASSISTS THE DECEASED AND HIS SOUL ON THEIR JOURNEY
THROUGH THE UNDERWORLD BY GIVING FOOD
AND WATER TO THEM BOTH

XIV

Men exalt him like the cycle of the gods,
they dread him who creates the heat,
even him who has made his son ²⁸ the universal master
in order to give prosperity to Egypt.
Come and prosper ! come and prosper !
O Nile, come and prosper !
O thou who makest men to live through his flocks ²⁹
and his flocks through his orchards !
Come and prosper, come,
O Nile, come and prosper !

This work has been successfully finished and dedicated to
the scribe of the treasury Qaqabu by the scribe Ennana.

²⁸ The Pharaoh.

²⁹ From the Anastasi Papyrus.

THE GREAT EMPIRE

(1600 B.C.—525 B.C.)

THE RELIGION OF THE POOR

BY BATTISCOMBE GUNN

*“ I was an ignorant man and foolish
Who knew neither good nor evil.”*

—HYMN OF NEFER'ABU.

RELIGION OF THE POOR IN ANCIENT EGYPT

BY BATTISCOMBE GUNN

(INTRODUCTION)

IF any religion be regarded rather in its emotional than in its intellectual aspect, that is to say, more particularly as an outcome of man's hopes and fears for himself in regard to the Unknown than as a theory of the universal economy, the most essential consideration is undoubtedly the personal relation which its adherents feel to subsist between themselves and their god or gods. For in this, its most intimate depth, lies the real value of the religion as a comforter to men in their conflict with stronger powers within and without them, and as an enlargement of the life of the heart. Moreover, it will throw the strongest light on the moral qualities of its members, and the extent to which they feel themselves to be in harmony with their environment.

Now, the impression obtained by a general view of Egyptian religion in its classic and official documents is that this relation was, on the worshiper's side, one of extraordinary complacency and self-sufficiency. We may leave out of account the royal intercourse with the gods, since the king was considered to be one of these himself and the son of them, and therefore in the position of *ultimus inter pares*, to say the least. But if we turn to the remainder of the great mass of writings expressing religious or moral sentiment which have been preserved to us, whether the funerary inscriptions, or the sacred books, or manuscript copies of uncanonical hymns and prayers, we find almost everywhere the same feeling. The Egyptian, as reflected in these texts, was little disposed to humble himself before deity. A careful respect, with strict observance of the commerce of sacrifice and ceremony against accordant benefits, was at all times necessary to be

maintained: but the attitude of the "miserable sinner," so characteristic of the Christian and other Semitic religions, is unknown to these writings. Consider the Declaration of Innocence,¹ in which every candidate for the joys of the next world proclaims his freedom from every human frailty; the self-identification with this or that god, so essential a feature of Egyptian magic; the nobles' many descriptions of themselves as miracles of human perfection in their dealings with men and gods, and their claim to consequent admiration from both. These people, one would say, never took God into their confidence, nor would permit themselves to plead guilty at any divine tribunal, or to sue for mercy. Whether this attitude arose from the intense spiritual and material pride (probably unequaled elsewhere in the world) of the Egyptian aristocracy, which would not suffer them to admit the least fault — the middle classes imitating their betters in this; or whether it was a consequence of the profound belief in the creative power of the spoken word, the solemnly uttered affirmation magically translating itself into a colorable reality; or whether again much of it was plain lying with intent to "bluff" gods or posterity, is a problem more easily posed than solved.²

But a notable contrast to the tone of this, the main current of traditional Egyptian religious feeling, is afforded by a small and far less-known group of hymns and prayers, all of which fall within the limits of the century and a half occupied by the Nineteenth Dynasty (about 1350–1200 B.C.) and which stand quite in a class by themselves. In these the change of orientation of the worshipers, the revolution in that personal relation to deity upon which I have laid stress, is

¹ Usually called the "Negative Confession," a term which might well be abandoned as being, in so far as it means anything, misleading: it is no "confession" to persist through forty-two clauses that one has committed no conceivable sin.

² In the case of the self-adulation put so often into the mouth of the deceased in tomb-inscriptions, it is possible that the composition of these is as a rule to be attributed not to their seeming authors but to the piety of surviving relatives, who would naturally, under the conventions of Egyptian style, cast them in the first rather than in the third person singular.

truly remarkable. All the (in the popular sense of the word) Pharisaic complacency of the priestly and official texts, the boasting "in which there is no boasting," the facile formalities of veneration, cold descriptions of the qualities and energies of the gods, sanctioned by the use of ages, with which these works were so easily put together, are absent. In their place, we find the very spirit of that self-abasing and sorrowful appeal, conscious of unworthiness, which Matthew Arnold, dealing with a similar contrast in its most eminent examples, called the Hebraic attitude as opposed to the Hellenic. Those who wrote these psalms (as we may fairly call some of them), or for whom they were written, were men conscious, as they confess, of their "many sins"; who approach the gods not as creditors who have fulfilled their side of a contract and calmly await their recompense, but as "humble men" and "helpless ones," hoping for mercy; who proclaim, not that they are perfect, unspotted even by contact with the erring, but "ignorant" and "foolish," "not knowing good from bad," deserving of punishment but saved by the grace of a god who prefers the silent before the eloquent, the distressed before the mighty, who can not be bargained with, is a surer help than man, whose wrath is soon past, and who sends no earnest suppliant empty away.

Several of these documents, so significant in the history of religion, are in manuscript (many at the British Museum); almost all the rest are a group of memorial stones which were found nearly a century since at Der-el-Medineh, in the Theban Necropolis, where they were set up in small temples by the humble draughtsmen, scribes, and "attendants" of that part of the great cemetery. It is to these memorials that I invite the attention of my readers. Scattered long ago among the museums of Turin (where lie by far the greatest number), London, and Berlin, many of them were published by M. Maspero many years ago: the same *savant* dealt afterward with some of them in an essay on popular beliefs of the Egyptians. They have been touched upon in the standard manual of Egyptian religion, the author of which, Prof. Erman, not very long ago republished the essential part of

the texts in corrected form, with translations and brief commentary.

The main purpose of this article is to present this body of texts to English readers: my translation of the Egyptian naturally follows very closely that of Prof. Erman, except at a few points where I have ventured to differ from him.

I

[The most interesting of these stones is a *stela* now in the Berlin Museum, found in one of a group of small brick temples of Amun, which were doubtless built for the sole use of the workers on the Theban Necropolis, and from which, possibly, most of the other monuments of this group originally came. The *stela* is dedicated to Amun by the draughtsman Nebre and his son Kha'y in gratitude for the recovery from sickness of Nekhtamun, another son of Nebre.

At the top sits Amun enthroned before a high pylon, with the superscription:]

Amen-Re, Lord of Karnak;
The great God within Thebes;
The august God who hears prayer;
Who comes at the voice of the distressed humble one;
Who gives breath to him that is wretched.

[Before Amun, and in front of a small altar, kneels Nebre in adoration; over him is written:]

Giving praise to Amun, Lord of Karnak,
Him that is within Thebes:
Homage to Amun of the City, the great God,
The Lord of this Sanctuary, great and fair;
That he may let mine eyes see his beauty.
For the *Ka* of the draughtsman of Amun,
Nebre, justified.

[Below is the following text, at the end of which are depicted the four sons of Nebre kneeling in worship:] ³

³ The following members of Nebre's family are known from this and other monuments: Father, Pay: mother unknown: brother, Pra'-Hotpe: wife, Peshed: sons, Nekhtamun, Kha'y, Khuamun, Amenemopet.

Praisegiving to Amun.
 I will make him hymns in his name.
 I will give him praise up to the height of heaven :
 And over the breadth of the earth.
 I will declare his might to him who fares down-steam :
 And to him who fares up-stream.
 Be ye ware of him !
 Herald him to son and daughter :
 To the great and little.
 Declare ye him to generations and generations,
 To those that exist not yet.
 Declare him to the fishes in the stream :
 To the birds in the heaven.
 Herald him to him that knows him not and him that
 knows him :
 Be ye ware of him !

Thou art Amun, the Lord of him that is silent :
 Who comest at the voice of the humble man.
 I call upon thee when I am in distress :
 And thou comest that thou mayest save me ;
 That thou mayest give breath to him that is wretched ;
 That thou mayest save me that am in bondage.

Thou art Amun, Lord of Thebes,
 That savest even him who is in the Netherworld.
 For it is thou who art merciful
 If one call upon thee,
 And it is thou that comest from afar.

Made by the draughtsman of Amun in the Place-of-Truth,
 Nebre, justified, son of the draughtsman in the Place-of-
 Truth,⁴ Pay, justified, in the name of his Lord Amun,
 Lord of Thebes, who comes at the voice of the humble
 one.

⁴ "Place-of-Truth" is apparently the name of a distinct part of the Theban Necropolis, not of the whole, as was formerly believed by Brugsch and others.

He made hymns to his name,
 Because of the greatness of his power :
 He made humble entreaties before him,
 In the presence of the whole land,
 For the draughtsman Nekhtamun,⁵ justified,
 Who lay sick unto death,
 Who was under the might of Amun, through his sin.

I found that the Lord of the Gods came as the North-wind,
 sweet airs before him, that he might save the draughts-
 man of Amun, Nekhtamun, justified, son of the draughts-
 man of Amun in the Place-of-Truth, Nebre, justified,
 and born of the Lady Peshed, justified.

He⁶ said :

Though the servant was disposed to do evil,
 Yet is the Lord disposed to be merciful.
 The Lord of Thebes passes not a whole day wroth :
 His wrath is finished in a moment, and naught is left.
 The wind is turned again to us in mercy :
 Amun turns with his air.
 As thy *Ka* endureth, mayest thou be merciful !
 May that which has been turned away not be repeated !

Thus the draughtsman in the Place-of-Truth, Nebre, justified.

He said :

“ I will make this memorial in thy name :
 And establish for thee this hymn in writing upon it.
 For thou didst save me the draughtsman Nekhtamun ” :
 Thus said I, and thou didst harken to me.

Now mark, I do that which I have said.
 Thou art a Lord to him that calls upon thee,
 Contented in truth, O Lord of Thebes !

Dedicated by the draughtsman Nebre and his son the scribe
 Kha'y.

⁵ Nebre's son.

⁶ Still Nebre.

II

[To the same Nebre belong half-a-dozen other monuments now at Turin, Paris, and London, of which must be mentioned in passing, as a striking example of the popular cults of the Empire, the stone at Turin in which Nebre is shown worshipping "the beautiful dove which endures, endures evermore," while his sons Nekhtamun and Kha'y adore "the beautiful cat which endures." Only one of these, however, has an inscription of any importance to our present purpose, namely a *stela* in the British Museum, dedicated by Nebre, son of Pay, to "Harokeris, Lord of Heaven, Ruler of the Nine."

The text runs as follows:]

Giving praise to Harokeris,
Homage to him that hears prayer,
That he may let mine eyes behold my way to go.⁷

For the *Ka*, of the draughtsman in the Place-of-Truth, Nebre,
justified, son of the draughtsman Pay, justified.

III

[We come now to three stones dedicated to one of the strangest of Theban divinities, Dehnet-Amentet, "the Peak of the West," who was identified with Isis, but was more generally regarded as the home of the Necropolis serpent-goddess Meretseger. The Peak of the West is said by M. Maspero to be the spur of mountain which faces Luxor in the hill of Sheikh 'Abed-el-Gurneh.

We will deal first with the Turin *stela* of Nefer'abu, the best known of these monuments. Before an altar of offerings is the three-headed serpent-goddess, with the superscription:]

Meretseger, Lady of Heaven,
Mistress of the two Lands, whose good name is Peak
of the West.

[The following text accompanies the scene:]

Giving praise to the Peak of the West:

⁷ Whether the reference to sight is to be taken literally, as desiring a cure for blindness, or in the sense of a prayer for enlightenment, it does not seem easy to say. I incline to think that in this case the latter is more probable.

Homage to her *Ka*.
 I give praise: hear my call.
 I was a just man upon earth.

Dedicated by the attendant in the Place-of-Truth, Nefer'abu,
 justified.

I was an ignorant man and foolish,
 Who knew neither good nor evil.
 I wrought the transgression against the Peak,
 And she chastised me.
 I was in her hand by night as by day:
 I sat like the woman in travail upon the bearing-stool.
 I called upon the wind, and it came to me not.
 I was tormented by the Peak of the West, the Mighty
 One:
 And by every god and every goddess.

Mark, I will say to great and little
 That are among the workmen:
 Be ye ware of the Peak!
 For that a lion is within the Peak.
 She smites with the smiting of a savage lion:
 She pursues him that transgresses against her.
 I called upon my Mistress:
 I found that she came to me with sweet airs;
 She was merciful to me,
 After she had made me behold her hand.
 She turned again to me in mercy:
 She caused me to forget the sickness that had been
 upon me.
 Lo, the Peak of the West is merciful,
 If one call upon her.

Spoken by Nefer'abu, justified, who says:
 Mark, and let every ear harken,
 That lives upon earth:
 Beware the Peak of the West! ⁸

⁸ "The transgression against the Peak" seems to point to some well-known offense; but what it was we have no means of knowing. Erman

IV

[The other two inscriptions to the Peak are both short. On a British Museum *stela* the "Scribe of the Necropolis Nekhtamun" (not necessarily identical with either the subject of the next poem or with the son of Nebre; the name is a very common one at this period) addresses "Meretseger, Mistress of the West," as follows:]

Praised be thou in peace, O Lady of the West,
 The Mistress that turns herself toward mercy!
 Thou causest me to see darkness by day.⁹
 I will declare thy might to all people.
 Be merciful to me in thy mercy!

V

[The Turin *stela* of Nekhtamun, son of Didi, bears, according to Maspero, a representation of the Peak, which he describes as "two slopes of a hill, depicted in accordance with the usual conventions of Egyptian draughtsmanship, running down from right and left and enclosing near the summit a sort of parallelogram, in which four coiled serpents forming a cornice stand out in relief." Erman, however, mentions it only as "a gorge." A goddess with horns and disk stands on one of the slopes, and is celebrated as:]

Great Isis, Mother of a God;
 Lady of Heaven, Mistress of all the Gods;
 Lady of children, of many forms.

[And again as:]

The great Peak of the West,
 Who gives her hand to him that she loves,
 And gives protection to him that sets her in his heart.

and Maspero both take the reference to the wind as probably indicating a disease in which the subject suffers from lack of breath. It may, however, be only a poetic figure.

⁹ There can be little doubt that this man was blind. We shall meet again with the phrase "darkness by day."

VI

[In the first and third inscriptions given above it will be noticed that we are not informed as to the nature of the offenses which called down upon Nekhtamun and Nefer'abu the wrath of the gods. The next two examples show that swearing falsely by the name of a deity was thought to be a fruitful source of misfortune.

The same Nefer'abu who "wrought the transgression against the Peak" dedicated a stone, now in the British Museum, to Ptah. On one side of the *stela* he is depicted adoring the god in these terms:]

Praisegiving to Ptah, Lord of Truth, King of the two banks:

Fair of face, who is on his great throne.

The one God among the Nine

Beloved as King of the Two Lands.

May he give life, prosperity, and health,

Keeness, favor, and love.

And that mine eyes may behold Amun every day

As is done for a righteous man

That sets Amun in his heart.

Thus the attendant in the Place-of-Truth, Nefer'abu, justified.

[On the reverse side of the *stela* is the following inscription:]

Here begins the declaration of the might of Ptah, South-of-his-Wall, by the attendant in the Place-of-Truth, to the West of Thebes, Nefer'abu, justified, who says:

I am a man who swore falsely by Ptah, Lord of Truth;
And he caused me to behold darkness by day.

I will declare his might to him that knows him not,
and to him that knows him:

To little and great.

Be ye ware of Ptah, Lord of Truth!

Lo, he will not leave aside the deed of any man.

Refrain you from uttering the name of Ptah falsely:

Lo, he that uttereth it falsely,
Lo, he tumbles down.

He caused me to be as the dogs of the street,
I being in his hand:
He caused men and Gods to mark me,
I being as a man that has wrought abomination against
his Lord.

Righteous was Ptah, Lord of Truth, toward me,
When he chastised me.

Be merciful to me; look upon me that thou mayest be
merciful!

Thus the attendant in the Place-of-Truth to the west of
Thebes, Nefer'abu, justified.¹⁰

VII

[A *stela* at Turin depicts in its upper part a bark bearing the moon's disk between horns, with the superscription "Luna-Thoth, the Great God, the merciful"; and below the worshiper Hey carrying a portable shrine on his shoulder; and the following text:]

The servant of the Moon, Hey, he says:

I am that man who uttereth an oath falsely by the
Moon concerning the . . . :

And he caused me to see the greatness of his power
before the whole land.

¹⁰Two expressions for blindness are used in these texts: "to see darkness by day," and "to see a darkness of thy making." In the contexts in which they stand it is natural to take them as referring to physical blindness; but if this interpretation be correct it is very strange that this affliction should occur proportionately so often, and be at the same time the only one specified by the victims of divine retribution. Are we to infer that the decoration of the dark tomb-chambers of the Necropolis (for that was, of course, the work of the draughtsmen, sculptors, and perhaps of "attendants" of the Place-of-Truth) was specially detrimental to the eyesight, or that blindness was believed to be almost always a direct punishment for impiety? Blindness has, of course, been at all times very common among the poorer classes of the Egyptian people.

I will declare thy might to the fishes in the river:
 To the birds in the heaven.
 They shall say to their children's children:
 Be ye ware of the Moon!
 O merciful one, that art able to turn this away! ¹¹

VIII

[On another *stela* at Turin the triple divinity Khonsu-Thoth-Horus is thus conjured:]

Take good cheer, O Lord of the Gods. . . .
 Be merciful, be merciful, thou fair one: .
 Be merciful, do thou love mercy.

Thus the draughtsman of Amun, Pay, justified.

[Below this Pay's mother is shown upon her knees, and in front of her is this inscription:]

Praisegiving to Khonsu in Thebes, Neferhotep:
 Horus, Lord of gladness.

I give him praise:
 I propitiate his *Ka*,
 That he be merciful to me every day.

Lo, thou causest me to see a darkness of thy making,
 If thou be merciful to me I will declare it.
 How sweet is thy mercy, O Khonsu,
 To the helpless one of thy city!

For the *Ka* of the lady Wazet-ronpet, justified. Her
 son made this memorial in the name of his Lord
 Khonsu, the draughtsman Pay, justified, who said:

Turn thy face, do mercy:
 Harken to me. . . .

¹¹ "This," in the last line, is, of course, the affliction which Hey desires that the god will take from him.



AMEN—RE, THE HIDDEN OR ETERNAL GOD, LATER CONNECTED WITH
THE SUN-GOD RE, AND REGARDED AS CHIEF OF ALL
THE GODS OF THE PRESENT LIFE

IX

[The Turin *stela* No. 48 is the most difficult of all these texts, largely because of the errors of writing with which it is crowded. The Priest of Amenophis I., Nekhatum, son of Neferemhotep, makes sacrifice to Amenophis, whom he thus celebrates:]

Praisegiving to the Lord of the Two Lands,
 Amenophis, to whom is given life,
 In the temple "Meryme'et" of Menkheprure,¹²
 The good living God.
 He (Amenophis) saves him that is in the Nether-
 world:
 He gives air to him that he loves.

Whoso enters to thee, with troubled heart,
 He comes forth rejoicing and exulting.
 Great and little come to thee because of thy name,
 When it is heard that thy name is mighty.
 Whoso fills his heart with thee is glad:
 Woe to whomso attacks thee!
 Ye shall contend with a crocodile out of the land of
 Nubia:
 And charm a lion.
 Do I not stretch forth my hand to a hole,
 Wherein is a great serpent?
 Behold ye the authority of Amenophis, to whom life is
 given,
 When he works a miracle for his city!¹³

¹² Thutmose IV. The oldest of the group of small brick temples from which many of these *stelæ* probably came was built under this King, and the cult of his ancestor may appropriately have found a place there.

¹³ The first three lines of the last strophe are exceedingly obscure, and such translation as I offer is mainly conjecture. This is unfortunate as the purpose of the whole monument may be contained in the reference to the serpent in its lair. This may be interpreted in three ways, according as one understands the sense of the vague temporal form of the verb.—(1) As given above: this is Erman's translation, and makes of the *stela* a thank-offering for a special gift of immunity from

X

[A Turin *stela* for Pay represents him worshipping the solar bark, described as "The setting Sun, the Great God," with the following short hymn:]

Giving praise to the Sun:
Homage to Haroeris.

I give thee praise when I see thy beauty:
I hymn Re when he sets;
O august, beloved, merciful God,
Who hearest him that prays,
Who hearest the entreaties of him that calls upon thee,
Who comest at the voice of him that utters thy name!

Thus the draughtsman Pay, justified.

XI

[A small wooden shrine at Turin, perhaps made to contain a serpent, dedicated by "the attendant in the Place-of-Truth, Kes, renewing life," for himself and several others, bears inscriptions of an entirely conventional character in honor of Khnum, Satis, and Anukis of Elephantine. In a general address to this triad is however introduced, with an abrupt change of style, the following reference to the Theban god:]

Mine eyes behold Amun at his every feast,
That beloved God, who harkens to humble entreaties,
Who stretches forth his hand to the humble,
Who saves the wearied.

XII

[On a Turin *stela* Luna-Thoth in his boat is worshiped by a dog-headed ape, "Lord for all time," and by "the sculptor snake-bite for which Nekhatum believes he has Amenophis to thank. If this is the right rendering it makes the inscription of particular interest, as containing one of the very few references to snake-charmers from Pharaonic times. (2) "Did I not stretch . . .," in which case we have a thank-offering for a danger averted by the intercession of the God-King. (3) "Shall not stretch . . .," merely a figure by which is extolled the protective influence of Amenophis, potent in death for the welfare of the citizens of Thebes.

in the Place-of-Truth, Neferronpet," and his wife (or sister) and daughter:]

Giving praise to Luna-Thoth:
Homage to the Merciful One.
I give him praise to the height of heaven:

I adore thy beauty.
Be thou merciful to me,
That I may see that thou art merciful:
That I may observe thy might.
Thou causest me to see a darkness of thy making;
Lighten me, that I may see thee.
For that health and life are in thine hand:
One liveth by thy gift of them.

XIII

[On yet another Turin *stela*, dedicated by "the attendant in the Place-of-Truth, Onnofre, justified," Onnofre's wife Nebtnuhet thus adores Thoth:]

Giving praise to Thoth:
Homage to the Lord of Hermopolis.
What is this that thou givest me, thou fair one?
Be merciful; lo, great is thy power;
Thou causest me to see a darkness of thy making.
Be merciful to me that I may see thee.

THE GREAT EMPIRE

(1600 B.C.—525 B.C.)

HISTORY AND LEGEND UNDER THE GREAT EMPIRE

“Behold, his Majesty goeth forth with his victorious army.”

—ANNALS OF THUTMOSE III.

HISTORY AND LEGEND UNDER THE GREAT EMPIRE

(INTRODUCTION)

THE historical records of Egypt are by no means so complete as the religious records. Egyptian thought was always directed to eternal life rather than to earthly fame. Doubtless also, destruction, as directed by foreign conquerors, was far more active against boastful monuments of former Egyptian victories than against religious texts. Hence even of the Great Empire we have comparatively few surviving historic monuments.

The most notable of these among recent discoveries has been the Carnarvon Tablet, published to the world by the Earl of Carnarvon in 1912. This tablet, though in many places badly worn and illegible, has aroused wide interest by supplying us with our first contemporary account of the founding of the Great Empire. We have long known from later tradition that this chief period of Egyptian splendor followed upon the overthrow and expulsion of the Asiatic invaders called by the Egyptians the Hyksos, or Shepherd Kings. These Hyksos were the Pharaohs who welcomed their kinsmen, the wandering Israelites, into Egypt in the time of Joseph and his brethren. The Hyksos were finally expelled by an Egyptian warrior whom tradition has called Amosis.

Now appears this seemingly contemporary tablet which tells of a Pharaoh Kamose as winning a great victory over the last Hyksos ruler, Apophis. Perhaps this Kamose was the champion whom tradition has preserved as Amosis, though at present Egyptologists are more inclined to accept him as a predecessor of Amosis, an earlier victor whose success drove the Asiatics back to their last stronghold, where the later champion achieved their final overthrow. In either case the

Carnarvon Tablet affords us our closest insight into the spirit in which the Egyptians went forth to battle. The inscription gives at first the council and discussion of the leaders; then it leaves the quoting of speeches, and plunges suddenly into Kamose's own words, narrating his campaign.

The next record given in this section is a still more boastful one of the conquering Pharaoh, Thutmose III. All these kingly inscriptions use naturally the tone of extremest boastfulness. The monarch means to awe and to impress his subjects; and the scribes who actually compose the inscriptions are eager to go even beyond their master in laudation of his prowess. There is thus a pompous sameness about all these royal Egyptian monuments, and the reader may gather their general spirit from this one of Thutmose III. It is the most important of them all, since the conquests of this Pharaoh show us Egypt at the widest extent of its foreign dominion. Thutmose III. has been called the Egyptian Alexander the Great.

From the inscriptions of Thutmose we learn how carefully and elaborately he arranged for the recording of his campaigns. He even carried with him a scribe, named Thaneni — our first known historian — who took notes of each day's doings. From these was compiled the first temple-record, of which we give here the first and most fully narrated campaign.

Following this official account we give the tomb-record of one of the officers of the conquering Thutmose. It tells of his capturing prisoners with his own sword, fighting a dozen at a time. It also narrates his quaint combat with an elephant. Several similar biographies survive and form a striking commentary, a side-light from the human standpoint, upon the Thutmose court history.

Sharply different from such stilted official monuments must have been the legendary accounts of these long wars, the people's tales of fight and stratagem, as here illustrated by the story of "The Capture of Joppa." This legend asserts that it deals with a campaign of Thutmose III. More than that, the name of its hero, Tutiya, has been preserved as an actual

general under Thutmose. So that the tale has some historical support. Doubtless a thousand similar stories sprang up and attached themselves to the heroes who fought under the celebrated "world-conqueror." But of all the cycle of such legends, only this one has survived.

Lastly, as a contrast to all this warlike history, we give a record of peace. Some, at least, of the mighty Eighteenth Dynasty Pharaohs preferred peace, and sought to record and to preserve their fame as builders, rather than as destroyers. Of this type was Amenhotep III., whose mighty temples are still the wonder of Karnak, one of Egypt's most celebrated shrines. He tells with much pride, though unfortunately with some architectural vagueness, of the size and of the cost of his enormous constructions.

HISTORY AND LEGEND

EXPULSION OF THE SHEPHERD KINGS ¹

Year 3, Horus "Appearing-upon-his-Throne," Two Goddesses "Repeating-Monuments," Horus of Gold "Making-content-the-Two-Lands," King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Wazkheperre, Son of Re Kamose, granted life, beloved of Amen-re, lord of Thrones-of-the-Two-Lands (Karnak), like Re forever and ever.²

The victorious king within Thebes Kamose, who was granted life eternally, was a beneficent king; and Re made him into a veritable king, and prepared for him victory in very truth. Thereupon his Majesty spoke in his palace to the council of officers which was with him:

"I should like to know what purpose serves my strength, when one prince is in Avaris and another is in Kush, and I sit united with an 'A'am and a Negro — each man holding his slice of the Black Land — who share the land with me. I do not pass him as far as Memphis, the water of Egypt. Behold, he holds Shmun, and no man rests, being wasted through servitude of the Setyu. I will grapple with him, that I may cleave open his belly. My desire is to deliver Egypt, and to smite the 'A'amu."³

Then spoke the great men of his council: "Behold, the 'A'amu have withdrawn as far as Cusae, they have pulled out their tongues all together. We are secure in the possession of our Black Land. Elephantine is strong, and the middle part is with us as far as Cusae. The finest of their fields

¹ Translated by Alan H. Gardiner.

² This first paragraph is the usual form of opening a kingly inscription with the year of the monarch's reign, the names of his gods, and his titles.

³ A'am and 'A'amu are the names commonly given to the Hyksos, or Shepherd Kings, and their people. Setyu is a name referring to them or to Asiatics generally. The Black Land is Egypt.

are plowed for us. Our cattle are in the papyrus-marshes. The spelt is sent to our swine. Our cattle are not taken away . . . on account of it. He holds the land of the 'A'amu, and we hold the Black Land. Then whoever comes and lands and acts against us, then do we act against him."

Now they were displeasing in the heart of his Majesty: "As for your counsels . . . these 'A'amu, who . . . Behold, I will fight with the 'A'amu, until good fortune comes. If . . . with weeping. The entire land shall acclaim me the victorious ruler within Thebes, Kamose, who protects Egypt."

I sailed down as a champion to overthrow the 'A'amu by the command of Amun, just of counsels, my army being valiant in front of me like a fiery blast; troops of Mazoi on the top of our strongholds to spy out the Setyu and to destroy their places; East and West bringing their fat, and my army abounding in supplies everywhere. I sent forth a strong troop of Mazoi, and spent a while in order to coop up . . . Teti the son of Apophis in Nefrusi. I suffered him not to escape. I turned back the Asiatics, I . . . Egypt . . ., and he made as one who . . . the power of the Asiatics. I spent the night in my ship, my heart being glad.

When day dawned I was on him, as it were a hawk. When the time of performing the mouth arrived, I overthrew him, I destroyed his wall, I slew his folk, I caused his wife to go down to the river-bank. My soldiers were like lions with their prey, carrying off slaves, cattle, fat, and honey, and dividing up their possessions, their hearts rejoicing. The region of Nefrusi came down, it was no great thing for us to confine its soul. The . . . of Per-Shaq was lacking when I came to it. Their horses fled inside. The garrison . . .

ANNALS OF THUTMOSE III.¹THE FIRST CAMPAIGN ²

Year 22, fourth month of the second season (eighth month), on the twenty-fifth day his Majesty was in Tharu on the first victorious expedition to extend the boundaries of Egypt with might . . .

Now at that period the Asiatics had fallen into disagreement, each man fighting against his neighbor. . . . Now, it happened that the tribes . . . the people, who were there in in the city of Sharuhen; behold, from Yeraza to the marshes of the earth,³ they had begun to revolt against his Majesty.

Year 23, first month of the third season (ninth month), on the fourth day, the day of the feast of the King's coronation, he arrived at the city, the possession of the ruler, Gaza.⁴

Year 23, first month of the third season (ninth month), on the fifth day; departure from this place in might, . . . in power, and in triumph, to overthrow that wretched foe,⁵ to extend the boundaries of Egypt, according as his father, Amon-Re, had commanded . . . that he seize.

Year 23, first month of the third season (ninth month), on the sixteenth day, he arrived at the city of Yehem.

His Majesty ordered a consultation with his valiant troops, saying as follows: "That wretched enemy, the chief of Kadesh, has come and entered into Megiddo; he is there at this moment. He has gathered to himself the chiefs of all the

¹ Translated by Prof. Breasted.

² Thutmose fought some eighteen campaigns in Asia, extending his domain to the borders of Assyria and Babylon and even receiving tribute from those lands, so that he might loosely claim to have conquered them also. His chief victory, the battle of Megiddo, or Armageddon, occurred in this first campaign, which is also the most fully recorded.

³ That is, from northwestern Judea to beyond the Euphrates.

⁴ About 125 miles from the starting-point in nine days.

⁵ The King of Kadesh. This campaign* is fought mainly against the Hittites, or Khati, who are here only known as "the wretched foe."

countries which are on the water of Egypt,⁶ and as far as Naharin, consisting of the countries of the Kharu, the Kode, their horses, their troops, . . . thus he speaks, 'I have arisen to fight against his Majesty in Megiddo.' Tell ye me . . ."⁷

They spoke in the presence of his Majesty, "How is it, that we should go upon this road, which threatens to be narrow? While they come and say that the enemy is there waiting, holding the way against a multitude. Will not horse come behind, horse and man behind, man likewise? Shall our advance-guard be fighting while our rear-guard is yet standing yonder in Aruna, not having fought? There are yet two other roads: one road, behold, it will . . . us, for it comes forth at Taanach, the other, behold, it will bring us upon the way north of Zefiti, so that we shall come out to the north of Megiddo. Let our victorious lord proceed upon the road he desires; but cause us not to go by a difficult⁸ road."

Then . . . messengers concerning this design which they had uttered, in view of what had been said by the Majesty of the Court (life, health, strength): "I swear, as Re loves me, as my father Amon favors me, as my nostrils are rejuvenated with satisfying life, my Majesty will proceed upon this road of Aruna. Let him who will among you go upon those roads ye have mentioned, and let him who will among you, come in the following of my Majesty. Shall they think among those enemies whom Re detests: 'Does his Majesty proceed upon another road? He begins to be fearful of us,' so will they think."

They spoke before his Majesty: "May thy father Amon, lord of Thebes, presider over Karnak, grant thee life. Behold, we are the following of thy Majesty in every place, whither thy Majesty proceedeth; as the servant is behind his master."

⁶ An idiom for "dependent upon" or "subject to."

⁷ The King's demand upon his officers is for information concerning the road, as the subsequent developments show.

⁸ The same word (*šr'*) is applied to the road upon which the great block for the el-Bersheh colossus was brought. It means "inaccessible" or "difficult"; it is also used by Thutmose III. of the celestial road of the sun.

Then his Majesty commanded the entire army to march . . . upon that road which threatened to be narrow. His Majesty swore, saying: "None shall go forth in the way before my Majesty, in . . ." He went forth at the head of his army himself, showing the way by his own footsteps;⁹ horse behind¹⁰ horse, his Majesty¹¹ being at the head of his army.

Year 23, first month of the third season (ninth month), on the nineteenth day; the watch in safety¹² in the royal tent was at the city of Aruna.¹³ "My Majesty proceeded northward under the protection of my father, Amon-Re, lord of Thebes, who went before me, while Harakhte strengthened my arms . . . my father, Amon-Re, lord of Thebes, victorious of the sword . . . over my Majesty."

The enemy went forth . . . in numerous battle array. . . . The southern wing was in Taanach, the northern wing was on the ground south of . . . His Majesty cried out to them before . . . they fell; behold, that wretched foe¹⁴ . . . of the city of¹⁵ Aruna.

Now, the rear of the victorious army of his Majesty was at the city of Aruna, the front was going forth to the valley of . . .,¹⁶ they filled the opening of this valley. Then they said in the presence of his Majesty, (l. h. s.): "Behold, his Majesty goeth forth with his victorious army, and it has filled the hollow of the valley; let our victorious lord harken to us this time and let our lord protect for us the rear of his army and his people. Let the rear of this army

• Literally, "steps of marching."

⁹ The army here enters the mountain pass.

¹¹ Or possibly: "the vanguard, being of the best of his army."

¹² Perhaps we should supply: "life, health, strength," as in Ramses II.'s march to Kadesh; but above, the said phrase is used after "tent," to express the adjective "royal," and would hardly appear twice in the same phrase.

¹³ Three days after the arrival at Yehem, Aruna, lying in the midst of the mountains, is reached. Here they spent the night of the nineteenth and marched on the twentieth.

¹⁴ There was some encounter with the enemy here in the mountains, and this moves the officers to urge calling in the straggling rear as soon as possible.

¹⁵ There is a loss of five lines here.

¹⁶ Proper name ending in *n*.

come forth to us behind; then shall they also fight against these barbarians; then we shall not need to take thought for the rear of our army." His Majesty halted outside and waited there, protecting the rear of his victorious army.

Behold, when the front had reached the exit upon this road, the shadow had turned, and when his Majesty arrived at the south of Megiddo on ¹⁷ the bank of the brook of Kina, the seventh hour ¹⁸ was turning, measured by the sun.

Then was set up the camp of his Majesty, and command was given to the whole army, saying: "Equip yourselves! Prepare your weapons! for we ¹⁹ shall advance to fight with that wretched foe in the morning." Therefore the King rested in the royal tent, the affairs of the chiefs were arranged, and the provisions of the attendants. The watch of the army went about, saying, "Steady of heart! Steady of heart! Watchful! Watchful!" ²⁰ Watch for life at the tent of the King." One came to say to his Majesty, "The land is well, and the infantry of the South and North likewise."

Year 23, first month of the third season (ninth month) on the twenty-first day, the day of the feast of the new moon, corresponding to the royal coronation, early in the morning, behold, command was given to the entire army to move. . . . His Majesty went forth in a chariot of electrum, arrayed in his weapons of war, like Horus, the Smiter, lord of power; like Montu of Thebes, while his father, Amon, strengthened his arms. The southern wing of this army of his Majesty was on a hill south of the brook of Kina, the northern wing was at the northwest of Megiddo,²¹ while his Majesty was in

¹⁷ The army here emerges in safety upon the plain in the afternoon of the twentieth, and camps unmolested that night, to go forth to battle in the morning of the twenty-first.

¹⁸ About one o'clock P. M.

¹⁹ The text has the impersonal "one."

²⁰ Literally, "Watchful of head," meaning "to be vigilant."

²¹ This shows that Thutmose has gone around Megiddo toward the west and, having his army partially on the north of the city, has intercepted the enemy's northern line of retreat; at the same time probably securing his own line of retreat along the Zefiti road. This position corroborates the position of the Asiatics with their southern wing at

their center, with Amon as the protection of his members, . . . the valor . . . of his limbs. Then his Majesty prevailed against them at the head of his army, and when they saw his Majesty prevailing against them they fled headlong to Megiddo in fear,²² abandoning their horses and their chariots of gold and silver. The people hauled them up, pulling them by their clothing, into this city; the people of this city having closed it against them and lowered clothing to pull them up into this city. Now, if only the army of his Majesty had not given their heart to plundering the things of the enemy, they would have captured Megiddo at this moment, when the wretched foe of Kadesh and the wretched foe of this city²³ were hauled up in haste to bring them into this city. The fear of his Majesty had entered their hearts, their arms were powerless, his serpent diadem was victorious among them.

Then were captured their horses, their chariots of gold and silver were made spoil; their champions lay stretched out like fishes on the ground. The victorious army of his Majesty went around counting their portions. Behold, there was captured the tent of that wretched foe in which was his son. . . . The whole army made jubilee, giving praise to Amon for the victory which he had granted to his son on this day, giving praise to his Majesty, exalting his victories. They brought up the booty which they had taken, consisting of hands,²⁴ of living prisoners, of horses, chariots of gold and silver, of . . .

Then spake his Majesty on hearing the words of his army, saying: "Had ye captured this city afterward, behold, I would have given . . .²⁵ Re this day; because every chief of every country that has revolted is within it; and because it is

Taanach on the day before the battle. This move must have been made by Thutmose in the afternoon or during the night before the battle.

²² Literally, "with or in the faces of fear."

²³ Megiddo. The two kings of Kadesh and Megiddo are meant.

²⁴ Cut off from the slain.

²⁵ Three or four words are lacking, probably: "very many offerings to Re this day," or something similar.

the capture of a thousand cities, this capture of Megiddo. Capture ye mightily, mightily . . ." ²⁶

His Majesty commanded the officers of the troops to go . . ., assigning to each his place. They measured this city, surrounding it with an enclosure, walled about with green timber of all their pleasant trees.²⁷ His Majesty himself was upon the fortification east of this city, inspecting . . .

It was walled about with a thick wall . . . with its thick wall.²⁸ Its name was made: "Menkheperre (Thutmose III.) is-the-Surrounder-of-the-Asiatics." People were stationed to watch over the tent of his Majesty; to whom it was said: "Steady of heart! Watch. . . ." His Majesty commanded, saying: "Let not one among them come forth outside, beyond this wall, except to come out in order to knock at the door of their fortification." ²⁹

Now, all that his Majesty did to this city, to that wretched foe ³⁰ and his wretched army, was recorded on each day by its (the day's) name, under the title of: ". . ." ³¹ Then it was recorded upon a roll of leather in the temple of Amon this day.³²

Behold, the chiefs of this country came to render their portions, to do obeisance ³³ to the fame of his Majesty, to crave breath for their nostrils, because of the greatness of his power, because of the might of the fame of his Majesty . . . the country . . . came to his fame, bearing their gifts, consisting

²⁶ The lacuna doubtless contained the exhortation to begin the siege.

²⁷ Thutmose III. describes the trees in his own garden of Amon, in the same way. Possibly fruit-trees are meant, as the word rendered "pleasant" (*bnr*) literally means "sweet."

²⁸ The same thick wall is also referred to in the building inscription of the Ptah-temple and the fragment on this campaign.

²⁹ Probably meaning to offer themselves as prisoners.

³⁰ The King of Kadesh.

³¹ The first word without the following connection seems doubtful; it means "to sail, travel," and possibly refers to the fact that the King sailed each year to Syria in the later campaigns; hence the title may have been: "Voyages," etc. The whole reminds one of the statement concluding the reign of each king in the Book of Kings.

³² The royal secretary Thaneni was apparently the one who kept this record.

³³ Literally, "to smell the earth."

of silver, gold, lapis lazuli, malachite; bringing clean grain, wine, large cattle, and small cattle for the army of his Majesty. Each of the Kode³⁴ among them bore the tribute southward. Behold, his Majesty appointed the chiefs anew for . . .

. . .³⁵ 340 living prisoners; 83 hands; 2,041 mares;³⁶ 191 foals; 6 stallions; young . . .; a chariot, wrought with gold, its pole of gold, belonging to that foe;³⁷ a beautiful chariot, wrought with gold, belonging to the chief of Megiddo;³⁸ . . . 892 chariots of his wretched army; total, 924³⁹ chariots; a beautiful suit of bronze armor, belonging to that foe;⁴⁰ a beautiful suit of bronze armor, belonging to the chief of Megiddo; . . .⁴¹ 200 suits of armor, belonging to his wretched army; 502 bows; 7 poles of wood, wrought with silver, belonging to the tent of that foe. Behold, the army of his Majesty took . . ., 297 . . ., 1,929 large cattle, 2,000 small cattle,⁴² 20,500 white small cattle.⁴³

List of that which was afterward taken by the King, of the household goods of that foe who was in the city of Yenoam, in Nuges, and in Herenkeru,⁴⁴ together with all the goods of

³⁴ The sentence is uncertain in the original, both as to text and meaning. As the Kode are coast-people, it may possibly refer to their shipping the spoil to Egypt for the soldiers.

³⁵ The determinative sign of a foreign country is the first sign at the end of the lacuna before the list.

³⁶ This word (*ssmw't*) I have elsewhere translated "horses," for what seem to me sufficient reasons, but in this context we have a clear distinction between mares and stallions.

³⁷ The King of Kadesh.

³⁸ Restored from the list of armor following.

³⁹ There must be thirty chariots therefore, mentioned in the lacuna, which would probably be those of the officers or other chiefs.

⁴⁰ The King of Kadesh.

⁴¹ Here followed the armor of the officers, as in the case of the chariots above.

⁴² Sheep?

⁴³ Goats?

⁴⁴ These three cities lay close together at the southern end of Lebanon. That Thutmose III. marched to Lebanon after the fall of Megiddo is shown by the fact that he built a fortress there just before returning to Thebes. The three cities formed a political whole under a single ruler ("that foe"), and were given as a whole to Amon by Thutmose III.

those cities which submitted themselves, which were brought to his Majesty: 474 . . . ; 38 lords of theirs, 87 children of that foe and of the chiefs who were with him, 5 lords of theirs, 1,796 male and female slaves with their children, noncombatants who surrendered because of famine with that foe, 103 men; total, 2,503.⁴⁵ Besides flat dishes of costly stone and gold, various vessels, . . . a large two-handled vase of the work of Kharu, . . . vases, flat dishes, . . . dishes, various drinking-vessels, 3 large kettles, 87 knives, amounting to 784 deben.⁴⁶ Gold in rings found in the hands of the artificers, and silver and many rings, 966 deben and one kidet.⁴⁷ A silver statue in beaten work . . . the head of gold, the staff with human faces; 6 chairs⁴⁸ of that foe, of ivory, ebony and carob wood, wrought with gold; 6 footstools belonging to them; 6 large tables of ivory and carob wood, a staff of carob wood, wrought with gold and all costly stones in the fashion of a scepter, belonging to that foe, all of it wrought with gold; a statue of that foe, of ebony wrought with gold, the head of which was inlaid with lapis lazuli . . . , vessels of bronze, much clothing of that foe.

Behold, the cultivable land was divided into fields, which the inspectors of the royal house, l. p. h., calculated, in order to reap their harvest. Statement of the harvest which was brought to his Majesty from the fields of Megiddo: 208,200⁴⁹ fourfold heket of grain, besides that which was cut as forage by the army of his Majesty.⁵⁰

⁴⁵ The prisoners enumerated foot up to 2,029; hence 474 must have been mentioned in the lacuna. These must have included "that foe and the chiefs who were with him," and probably others whom we can not identify.

⁴⁶ 191.1 pounds, total of gold in the preceding list of articles.

⁴⁷ 235.46 pounds.

⁴⁸ In Egyptian the word (*kny*) often means a kind of open sedan chair.

⁴⁹ This makes about 112,632 imperial bushels (of 2,218.19 cubic inches). It is impossible to say how much an acre would yield at this time, but at twenty bushels to the acre this harvest covered a territory of nearly nine square miles.

⁵⁰ What follows is a mere record of the gifts given various temples, gods, etc.

BIOGRAPHY OF AMENEMHAB¹

(AN OFFICER OF THUTMOSE III.)

The officer, Amenemhab; he says:

I was the very faithful one of the sovereign (l. p. h.), the wise-hearted of the King of Upper Egypt, the excellent-hearted of the King of Lower Egypt. I followed my lord on his expeditions in the northern and the southern country. He desired that I should be the companion of his feet, while he was upon the battle-field of his victories, while his valor fortified the heart.

I fought hand to hand in the land of Negeb.² I brought off three men, Asiatics, as living prisoners.

When his Majesty came to Naharin³ I brought off three men from the fight there; I set them before thy Majesty as living prisoners.

Again I fought hand to hand on that expedition in the land of "The-Height-of-Wan"⁴ on the west of Aleppo. I brought

¹ Besides this biography, Amenemhab's tomb contained a series of scenes showing him in the exercise of certain of his functions as a deputy of the army, especially introducing the officers of the commissariat to the King to report on the maintenance of the army. His tomb also contains other references to his career, like those inserted among his titles: "Attendant of his lord on his expeditions in the countries of the south and north, not separated from the Lord of the Two Lands on the battle-field in the hour of repelling millions of men." He was evidently a favorite of Thutmose III., and may have owed his favor to his wife, who was the royal nurse, possibly of Thutmose III. himself.

² This is clearly the Hebrew *Negeb*, i.e., "south country"; the fourteenth campaign of the Annals of Thutmose III. was against the Bedwin (Shasu) of this region.

³ The following three battles all took place on a campaign in the Naharin, probably that of year 33 of Thutmose III., as he later mentions another in Naharin, which would correspond with that of year 35.

⁴ Evidently some height not far from Aleppo is meant, for which Gebel Siman (2,700 feet high) answers admirably. It is but slightly north of west of Aleppo, but the Egyptian did not carry a compass, and any traveler of to-day would speak of it as west of Aleppo, and refer

off 13 Asiatics as living prisoners, 13 men; 70 living asses; 13 bronze spears; the bronze was wrought with gold . . .

Again I fought on that expedition in the land of Carchemish. I brought off . . . as living prisoners. I crossed over the water of Naharin, while they were in my hand, to . . .; I set them before my lord. He rewarded me with a great reward; list thereof: . . .

I beheld the royal victories of the King Menkheperre (Thutmose III.), given life, in the country of Senzar,⁵ when he made a great slaughter among them. I fought hand to hand before the King, I brought off a hand there. He gave to me the gold of honor; list thereof: . . . two silver rings.

Again I beheld his bravery, while I was among his followers. He captured the city of Kadesh;⁶ I was not absent from the place where he was; I brought off two men, lords, as living prisoners; I set them before the King, the Lord of the Two Lands, Thutmose, living forever. He gave to me gold because of bravery, before the whole people . . .; list thereof: of the finest gold: a lion; 2 necklaces, 2 flies, 4 arm rings.

I saw my lord in . . . in all his forms in the country of the ends⁷ of the earth. . . . Ha. . . . Then I was raised to be the . . . of the army, like . . .

Again I beheld his victory in the country of Tikhsi the wretched, in the city of Mero. . . . I fought hand to hand therein before the King. I brought off Asiatics, 3 men, as living prisoners. Then my lord gave to me the gold of honor; list thereof: 2 golden necklaces, 4 arm rings, 2 flies, a lion, a female slave, and a male slave.

Again I beheld another excellent deed which the Lord of the Two Lands did in Niy. He hunted 120 elephants, for to his table of bearings for the exact direction. But there is a ruin by Dana directly west of Aleppo, on a height of nearly 1,100 feet, which will do equally well.

⁵ Zinzar of the "Amarna Letters," it is the modern Kal at Seidjar on the Orontes below Hamath. It was taken in the year 33, in the Naharin campaign.

⁶ This occurred in the year 30.

⁷ In Annals, year 35, and "Hymn of Victory." This was probably on the march from the coast to Naharin, in the second campaign against that country.

the sake of their tusks and . . . I engaged the largest which was among them, which fought against his Majesty; I cut off his hand ⁸ while he was alive before his Majesty, while I stood in the water between two rocks.⁹ Then my lord rewarded me with gold; he gave . . . and 3 changes of clothing.

The prince of Kadesh ¹⁰ sent forth a mare ¹¹ before the army; in order to . . . them, she entered among the army. I pursued after her on foot, with my sword, and I ripped open her belly; I cut off her tail, I set it before the King; while there was thanksgiving to God for it! ¹² He gave me joy, it filled my body, with rejoicing, he endued my limbs.

His Majesty sent forth every valiant man of his army, in order to pierce the wall for the first time, which Kadesh had made. I was the one who pierced it, being the first of all the valiant; no other before me did it. I went forth, I brought off 2 men, lords, as living prisoners. Again my lord rewarded me because of it, with every good thing for satisfying the heart, of the King's-presence.

I made this capture while I was an officer of the navy. . . . I was the commander of . . . his vessel. I was the chief of his associates on the voyage . . . at his beautiful Feast ¹³ of Opet, when all the land was in acclamation.

Lo, the King completed his lifetime of many years, splendid in valor, in might, and in triumph; from year 1 to year 54, third month of the second season, the last day of the month under the Majesty of King Menkheperre (Thutmose III.),

⁸ Doubtless the trunk is meant.

⁹ He was perhaps pursued by the wounded elephant, and took refuge between the rocks.

¹⁰ During the last campaign of Thutmose III., in year 42, and the last mentioned by Amenemhab.

¹¹ For the purpose of exciting the stallions of the Egyptian chariotry and thus confusing their line of battle; but Amenemhab leaps down from his chariot, and, pursuing her "on foot," slays her.

¹² The phrase occurs not infrequently, denoting the thanks of a king for the faithfulness of a servant. The impersonal form merely indicates that it was the king who gave thanks.

¹³ This is perhaps the celebration of the Feast of Southern Opet on the fourteenth of Paophi, after the return from the first campaign, which Amenemhab here relates after the campaigns exactly as the inscription of Feasts and Offerings continues the Annals.

triumphant. He mounted to heaven, he joined the sun; the divine limbs mingling with him who begat him.¹⁴

When the morning brightened, the sun arose, and the heavens shone, King Okheprure, Son of Re, Amenhotep (II.), given life, was established upon the throne of his father, he assumed the royal titulary. He mingled with, . . . the Red Land; he cut off the heads of their chiefs.¹⁵ Diademed as Horus, son of Isis, he took . . . the Kenemetyew, every land, bowed down because of his fame; with their tribute upon their backs, that he might grant to them the breath of life.

His Majesty noticed me rowing wonderfully with him in his vessel; "Khammat" was its name. I was rowing with both hands at his beautiful feast of Luxor, likewise to the splendors. . . . I was brought to the midst of the palace, one caused that I should stand before the King, Okheprure (Amenhotep II.). I bowed down immediately before his Majesty; he said to me, "I know thy character; I was abiding in the nest, while thou wert in the following of my father. I commission thee with office that thou shalt be deputy of the army as I have said, watch thou the élite troops of the King." The deputy, Mahu, executed all that his lord said.¹⁶

¹⁴ Amenemhab here records the death of his patron King. In the next section he tells of the new King and of campaigns under that King in which Amenemhab was not specially honored. Then comes an incident by which he again wins notice.

¹⁵ Amenemhab doubtless refers to the sacrifice of the seven kings of Tikhsi.

¹⁶ Here our only copy of this text ends abruptly.

LEGEND OF THE TAKING OF JOPPA ¹

There was once in the land of Egypt a general of infantry, Thutiya was his name.² He followed the King Manakhpiriya,³ l. h. s., on all his marches to the lands of the South and the North,⁴ he fought at the head of his soldiers, he knew all the stratagems that are employed in war, and he received every day the gold of valor,⁵ for he was an excellent general of infantry, and he had not his equal in the Entire-Land; this is what he did.

And many days after that a messenger came from the country of Kharu,⁶ and he was conducted into the presence of his Majesty, l. h. s., and his Majesty said to him, "Who hath sent thee to my Majesty? wherefore hast thou journeyed?" The messenger replied to his Majesty, l. h. s., "It is the Governor of the land of the North who sent me to thee, saying, the vanquished of Joppa⁷ has revolted against his Majesty, l. h. s., and he has massacred the foot-soldiers of

¹ Translated by Sir Gaston Maspero.

² The opening paragraphs are here restored, partly by guesswork, in the manner of similar tales. Our only papyrus of this tale is defective.

³ Manakhpiriya is the royal prenomen of the Pharaoh Thutmose III. of the Eighteenth Dynasty; "l. h. s." is the formula already noted as meaning "life, health, strength," and as being commonly used when referring casually to a Pharaoh.

⁴ This is a frequent formula on Egyptian monuments of the time, "he who followed his lord in all his expeditions," to which the variants add, "in all his expeditions to the South and to the North."

⁵ The autobiographies of Ahmase-si-Abna and of Amenemhab tell of the rewards given by the Egyptian kings to those of their generals who had distinguished themselves in warfare. Slaves, male and female, were given them, objects taken as booty, or gold in rings, which was called "gold of valor."

⁶ The land of Kharu corresponds to Palestine, or at least to that part of Palestine which is situated between Jordan and the sea.

⁷ In the official language of Egypt all strangers received the title of *Pa khiri*, the "falling," the "overthrown"; *Pa khiri ni Khati*, "the overthrown of Khati"; *Pa khiri ni Jopu*, "the overthrown of Joppa," or "the vanquished of Joppa."

his Majesty, l. h. s., also his charioteers, and no one can stand against him."

When the King Manakhpirriya, l. h. s., heard all the words that the messenger had said to him, he fell into a rage like a cheetah of the south.⁸ "By my life, by the favor of Re, by the love borne for me by my father Amon, I will destroy the city of the vanquished of Joppa, I will make him feel the weight of my arm."

He called his nobles, his captains of war, also his magician-scribes, and repeated to them the message that the Governor of the land of the North had sent him. Lo! they were all silent with one mouth, they knew not what to reply, either good or evil. But Thutiya said to his Majesty, l. h. s.: "Oh thou to whom the Entire-Land pays homage, command that there be given me the great staff of the King Manakhpirriya, l. h. s., the name of which is . . . *tiut-nofrit*.⁹ Command also that there be given me foot-soldiers of his Majesty, l. h. s., also charioteers of the flower of the brave ones of the land of Egypt, and I will slay the vanquished of Joppa, I will take his city." His Majesty, l. h. s., said, "It is excellent, excellent, that which thou hast spoken." And the great staff of the King Manakhpirriya, l. h. s., was given to him, and foot-soldiers were given to him and the charioteers which he had asked for.

And many days after that, Thutiya was in the country of Kharu with his men. He caused a great sack of skin to be made which would hold a man, he had iron shackles forged for feet and hands, he had a great pair of shackles with four rings, and many wooden fetters and collars, and five hundred large jars. When all was ready he sent word to the van-

⁸ This is one of the formulæ used to denote the impression produced on the King by some disastrous event.

⁹ The first words that formed the name of this staff are destroyed. Not only the King's walking-stick, but also those of ordinary folk had each its special name. This is shown by the inscriptions borne by various staffs found in the tombs and preserved in our museums. It appears that the Egyptians accorded a real personality, and a kind of "double," to the natural and manufactured objects by which they were surrounded; at any rate a proper name was assigned to each of them.

quished of Joppa: "I am Thutiya, the general of infantry of the land of Egypt, and I have followed his Majesty, l. h. s., in all his marches to the lands of the North and the lands of the South. But lo! now, the King Manakhpirriya, l. h. s., has been jealous of me because I am a hero, and wished to kill me, but I fled before him, and I have brought the great staff of the King Manakhpirriya, l. h. s., and I have hidden it in the baskets of forage for my horses, and if thou wilt I will give it thee, and I will be with thee, I and the people who are with me of the flower of the brave ones of the army of Egypt." When the vanquished of Joppa heard this he rejoiced greatly, greatly, for the words that Thutiya had spoken, for he knew that Thutiya was a hero who had not his equal in the Entire-Land. He sent to Thutiya, saying, "Come with me, and I will be to thee as a brother, and I will give thee a piece of land chosen from what is the best of the country of Joppa."

The vanquished of Joppa came out of his city with his equerry, and with the women and children of the city, and he came before Thutiya. He took him by the hand and embraced him and caused him to come into his camp, but he did not cause the companions of Thutiya and their horses to enter with him. He gave him bread, he ate, he drank with him, and he said to him in the way of conversation, "The great staff of the King Manakhpirriya,¹⁰ what is it?" Now Thutiya, before entering the camp of the city of Joppa, had taken the great staff of the King Manakhpirriya, l. h. s.; he had hidden it in the forage which he had placed in the baskets, and he had arranged them as the baskets of forage are arranged for the chariotry of Egypt. Now while the vanquished of Joppa drank with Thutiya, the people who were with him were amusing themselves with the foot-soldiers of Pharaoh, l. h. s., and were drinking with them. And after they had passed their hour of drinking, Thutiya said to the vanquished of Joppa, "If it please thee, while I

¹⁰ It is probable that the staff had some magic virtue. That would explain the desire shown by the prince to possess it, no doubt in the hope that it would render him invincible.

remain here with the women and children of thy city, allow my companions to enter with their horses to give them provender, or that an Apuriu ¹¹ may hasten to the place where they are." They were made to enter, the horses were hobbled, their provender was given them, and the great staff of King Manakhpirriya, l. h. s., was found, and one went to tell Thutiya.

And after that the vanquished of Joppa said to Thutiya: "My desire is to behold the great staff of the King Manakhpirriya, l. h. s., the name of which is . . . *tiut-nofrit*. By the *double* ¹² of the King Manakhpirriya, l. h. s., since it is with thee this day, that great excellent staff, bring it to me." Thutiya did as he said, he brought the staff of the King Manakhpirriya, l. h. s., he seized the vanquished of Joppa by his raiment and flung him down, saying, "Behold, oh vanquished of Joppa, the great staff of the King Manakhpirriya, l. h. s., the redoubtable lion, the son of Sokhit,¹³ to whom Amon his father gives strength and power. He raised his hand, he struck the temple of the vanquished of Joppa, who fell unconscious before him. He put him in the great sack he had prepared with the skins; he seized the men who were with him, he had the pair of iron shackles brought that he had prepared, with them he fastened the hands of the vanquished of Joppa, and on his feet were placed the pair of iron shackles of four rings.¹⁴ He had the five hundred jars

¹¹ M. Chabas believed that he recognized in this name that of the Hebrews. Various circumstances prevent our accepting this hypothesis.

¹² The "double" of the King is represented as an emblem formed of two upraised arms, between which are placed the titles that compose "the name of the double" of the King. This is inaccurately called "the royal banner." It is placed upright on a flagstaff, and figures in the bas-reliefs behind the person of Pharaoh himself.

¹³ Sokhit is represented under the form or with the head of a lioness, and this peculiarity explains why King Thutmose III., regarded as her son, is called in this text a "redoubtable lion."

¹⁴ It appears to me that the stratagem consisted, after having killed the prince of Joppa, of passing him off as Thutiya himself. The body was placed in a sack prepared beforehand, so that no one could recognize his features or limbs and detect the deception, and the corpse when thus concealed was loaded with chains, as was done with the bodies of the vanquished. It is this corpse that the equerry of the prince shows

brought that he had caused to be made, he put two hundred soldiers into them; he then filled the belly of the other three hundred with cords and wooden fetters. They sealed them with a seal, they covered them with their covering and the cordage necessary to carry them, and placed them on as many strong soldiers, five hundred men in all, and one said to them, "When you shall enter the city, you shall open the jars of your companions, you shall seize all the inhabitants who are in the town, and you shall put the fetters on them immediately." One went on to say to the equerry of the vanquished of Joppa, "Thy master has fallen! Go, say to thy sovereign lady,¹⁵ 'Rejoice, for Sutekhu¹⁶ has delivered Thutiya to us, with his wife and his children.' Behold, under the name of booty taken from them two hundred jars are disguised, which are full of men, wooden collars, and fetters!"¹⁷

The equerry went at the head of these people to rejoice the heart of his sovereign lady by saying, "We are masters of Thutiya!" The fastenings of the city were opened to give passage to the porters; they entered into the city, they opened the jars of their companions, they took possession of the whole city, small and great; they placed fetters and collars at once on the people who lived there. When the army of Pharaoh, l. h. s., had taken possession of the city, Thutiya reposed himself, and sent a message to Egypt to the King Manakhpirriya, l. h. s., his lord, to say, "Rejoice thou! Amon, thy father, has given thee the vanquished of Joppa with all his subjects, and also the city. Let men come to

later to the inhabitants of the city, saying to them, "We are masters of Thutiya."

¹⁵ The wife of the prince, who was not in camp with her husband, but had remained in Joppa.

¹⁶ *Sutekhu*, *Sutekh*, was the name given by the Egyptians to the principal gods of the Asiatic and Libyan peoples. This appellation goes back to the time of the Hyksos.

¹⁷ The number "two hundred" appears to be contradictory with that of "five hundred" which is indicated previously. We must suppose that the scribe had the two hundred jars that contained the men in his mind, and gave this partial number without remembering the total number of five hundred.

take them into captivity, that thou mayest fill the house of thy father, Amonra, king of the gods, with slaves and maid-servants, who shall be beneath thy two feet forever and ever."—Is happily finished this narration, by the office of the scribe instructed in narrations, the scribe . . .

THE BUILDING LABORS OF AMENHOTEP III. ¹

Live . . . ² Amenhotep III., Ruler of Thebes; beloved of Amon, lord of Thebes, presider over Karnak; given life, joy of his heart, that he may rule the Two Lands like Re, forever; the Good God, possessor of joy, who is very vigilant for him that begat him, Amon, king of gods; who hath made great his (Amon's) house, who hath satisfied his beauty by doing that which his *ka* desires.

Behold, the heart of his Majesty was satisfied with making a very great monument; never has happened the like since the beginning.³ He made it as his monument for his father, Amon, lord of Thebes, making for him an august temple ⁴ on the west of Thebes, an eternal, everlasting fortress ⁵ of fine white sandstone, wrought with gold throughout; its floor is adorned with silver, all its portals with electrum;⁶ it is made very wide and large, and established forever; and adorned with this very great monument.⁷ It is numerous in royal statues, of Elephantine granite, of costly gritstone, of every splendid costly stone, established as everlasting works.⁸

¹ This is a *stela* or great stone set up by King Amenhotep III. in one of his temples and giving an enthusiastic though vague account of his labors as a builder. It is the most complete record of its kind. The translation is from Prof. Breasted's "Ancient Records."

² A full five-name titulary must have followed here.

³ The colossi known as the Memnon colossi still stand, but the temple, the entrance of which they flanked, has disappeared. It was the mortuary temple of Amenhotep III., of which there is a further account inscribed on a huge *stela* now lying in the scanty ruins behind the colossi.

⁴ Called "House-of-Amon-on-the-West-of-Thebes" in the inscription on a black granite statue of Amenhotep III. at Erment.

⁵ The temple regarded as a stronghold.

⁶ Just how the metals were used on floor, walls, and doorways is not clear from these vague data, but they materially augment our ideas of the splendor of the Egyptian temple.

⁷ Probably the *stela* on which this text is cut.

⁸ Spiegelberg calls attention to the fact that the French expedition found eighteen of these statues on the west shore still *in situ*, some of

Their stature shines more than the heavens; their rays are in the faces (of men) like the sun, when he shines early in the morning. It is supplied with a "Station of the King,"⁹ wrought with gold and many costly stones. Flagstaves are set up before it, wrought with electrum; its resembles the horizon in heaven when Re rises therein. Its lake is filled with the great Nile, lord of fish and fowl, pure in . . .

Its storehouse is filled with male and female slaves, with children of the princes of all the countries of the captivity of his Majesty. Its storehouses contain all good things, whose number is not known. It is surrounded with settlements of Syrians colonized with children of princes, its cattle are like the sand of the shore, they make up millions.

The bow-rope of the Southland in it and the stern-rope of the Northland, even his Majesty revealed himself like Ptah, was skilful-minded like Him-South-of-His-Wall (Ptah), searching out excellent things for his father, Amon-Re, King of Gods, making for him a very great pylon¹⁰ over against Amon. Its beautiful name which his Majesty made was: "Amon-Has-Received-His-Divine-Bark,"¹¹ a place of rest for the lord of the gods at his "Feast of the Valley" on the western voyage of Amon to behold the western gods, in order that he may endow his Majesty with satisfying life.¹²

which are now in the museums: in the British Museum one of black granite; two heads; also a black granite statue at Erment. Spiegelberg thinks it strange that the two Memnon colossi are not given separate mention, but they are clearly mentioned in the reference to "costly gritstone," which is the material of the colossi. Moreover, they are distinctly mentioned in the Dedication Inscription.

⁹ The enormous *stela* lying overthrown behind the Memnon colossi. The word "station" is here determined with a *stela*, showing that as at Amada, the "station of the king" was marked by the *stela* against the back wall of the holy of holies.

¹⁰ This is probably the pylon which flanked the Memnon colossi, but is now entirely gone.

¹¹ The literal meaning of the phrase used for the bark is: "Bearer of his beauty"; it was a portable shrine.

¹² This finishes the description of the first temple, and another is described in the following section, the well-known temple at modern Luxor, of which the southern portion is due to Amenhotep III. The architrave inscriptions offer a short account of the building: "He made it as his monument for his father, Amon-Re, king of gods, again erecting for him

like his neighbor; their silver, their gold, their cattle, every splendid costly stone of their countries, by millions, hundred thousands, ten thousands, and thousands. I have done it for the one who begat me, in the uprightness of my heart, according as he appointed me to be the sun of the Nine Bows.

King of Upper and Lower Egypt: Nibmare, part of Re; Son of Re: Amenhotep III., Ruler of Thebes. I made another monument for him who begat me, Amon-Re, lord of Thebes, who established me upon his throne, making for him a great barge¹⁷ for the "Beginning-of-the-River" named "Amon-Re-in-the-Sacred-Barge," of new cedar which his Majesty cut in the countries¹⁸ of God's-Land. It was dragged over the mountains of Retenu by the princes of all countries. It was made very wide and large, there is no instance of doing the like. Its . . . is adorned with silver, wrought with gold throughout, the great shrine is of electrum so that it fills the land with its brightness; its bows, they repeat the brightness; they bear great crowns, whose serpents twine along its two sides; they exercise protection behind them. Flagstaves are set up before it¹⁹ wrought with electrum, two great obelisks are between them; it is beautiful everywhere. The gods of Pe make jubilee to it; the gods of Nekhen praise it; the two Nile-gods of the South and the North, they embrace its beauty, its bows make Nun to shine²⁰ as when the sun rises in heaven, to make his beautiful voyage at his feast of Opet on his western voyage of a million of millions of years.

King of Upper and Lower Egypt: Nibmare, Son of Re: Amenhotep III., Ruler of Thebes,²¹ who is vigilant to seek that which is useful, the King, who has erected another monument for Amon, making for him a very great portal over

¹⁷ A similar barge with details of measurements in the Harris Papyrus.

¹⁸ The same statement by Thutmose IV. on Lateran obelisk.

¹⁹ The shrine, which was set up amidships; it is here regarded as a temple, and equipped therefore with flagstaves and obelisks.

²⁰ Referring to the reflection in the water, here called Nun, the same in the Abydos stela of Thutmose I.

²¹ He speaks now of the ruined pylon behind the great hall of columns, known as Pylon III. at Karnak.

against Amon-Re, lord of Thebes, wrought with gold throughout. The Divine Shadow,²² as a ram, is inlaid with real lazuli wrought with gold and many costly stones; there is no instance of doing the like. Its floor is adorned with silver; towers are over against it. *Stelæ* of lazuli are set up, one on each side. Its pylons reach heaven like the four pillars of heaven; its flagstaves shine more than the heavens, wrought with electrum. His Majesty brought gold for it in the land of Karoy on the first victorious campaign, slaying the wretched Kush.

King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Nibmare, beloved of Amon-Re, Son of Re: Amenhotep III., Ruler of Thebes. I made other monuments for Amon, whose like hath not been. I built for thee thy house of millions of years in the . . . of Amon-Re, lord of Thebes, named Khammat,²³ august in electrum, a resting-place for my father at all his feasts. It is finished with fine white sandstone; it is wrought with gold throughout; its floor is adorned with silver, all its portals are of gold. Two great obelisks²⁴ are erected, one on each side. When my father rises between them, I am among his following. I have offered to him thousands of oxen, limbs for the choicest of hindquarters.

[Here the *stela* turns suddenly to a chant of the god Amon praising King Amenhotep for his building.]

Utterance of Amon, king of gods:

My son, of my body, my beloved, Nibmare,

My living image, whom my limbs created,

Whom Mut, mistress of Ishru in Thebes, bore to me,

Mistress of the Nine Bows who brought thee up as sole lord
of the people.

My heart greatly rejoices when I see thy beauty,

²² The immaterial or intangible part of a god conceived as a shadow, a common conception both for gods and men.

²³ This is the name of the Soleb temple in Nubia; it means: "Shining (or rising) in (or as) Truth," which is also one of Amenhotep III.'s names, either in the full titulary, or alone.

²⁴ These obelisks are not shown on Lepsius' plan, but they are also mentioned in the ram inscriptions.

I work a wonder for thy Majesty, and thou renewest youth,
According as I have set thee as the Sun of the Two Lands.

When I turn my face to the south, I work a wonder for thee;
I cause the chiefs of Kush, the wretched, to turn to thee,
Bearing all their tribute upon their backs.

When I turn my face to the north, I work a wonder for thee;
I cause the countries of the ends of Asia to come to thee,
Bearing all their tribute upon their backs.

They present themselves to thee with their children,
In order that thou mayest give to them the breath of life.

When I turn my face to the west, I work a wonder for thee;
I cause thee to seize the Tehenu, so that there is no remnant
of them.

They are building²⁵ in this fortress in the name of my
Majesty;

Surrounded with a great wall reaching to heaven,
Settled with children of the chiefs of the Nubian Troglodytes.

When I turn my face to the Orient,²⁶ I work a wonder for
thee;

I cause to come to thee the countries of Punt,
Bearing all the pleasant sweet woods of their countries,
To crave peace with him, and breath of thy giving.

King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Ruler of the Nine Bows,
Lord of the Two Lands, Nibmare, son of Re, his beloved
Amenhotep III., Ruler of Thebes, with whose monuments
the heart of the gods is satisfied; that he may be given life,
stability, satisfaction, health; that his heart may be joyful,
like Re, forever.

²⁵ As slaves?

²⁶ The usual word for "east" is not employed, but a term meaning
"sunrise."

THE GREAT EMPIRE

(1600 B.C.—525 B.C.)

THE EPIC OF PENTA-OUR

(THE TRIUMPH OF RAMSES II.)

“The panegyric of a scribe, Penta-our, has invested Ramses with the power of a god.”

—PROF. S. BIRCH.

EGYPT'S CHIEF EPIC POEM

(INTRODUCTION)

THE epic poem of Penta-our is by far the finest existing literary effort inspired by the wars of the Great Empire. It has made its author the best known of Egyptian poets. Penta-our was the palace scribe of Ramses II., a warlike emperor of the Nineteenth Dynasty, almost as noted as the earlier conqueror Thutmose. The military career of Ramses II. culminated in one great moment when in a close-fought battle his troops fled and he alone, or almost alone, charged in desperation upon the multitude of his foes. Again and again he charged, until his own troops rallied to his support and swept the enemy completely from the field.

In this epic triumph of the mighty hero, exaggerated though it doubtless is in the telling, the poet found inspiration for a really powerful pæan of pride and exultation. Ramses himself was so delighted with the poem that he had it carved on wall after wall of his great buildings. It has thus become, except for the Book of the Dead, the most widespread and most noted of the remains of Egyptian literature.

This campaign of Ramses has been carefully studied and its progress traced as a piece of military strategy. He was marching against the Hittites, who, since the days of Thutmose III., had regained their full independence and their power. Apparently Ramses, in the reckless eagerness of his march, left most of his army far behind him. The Hittite forces then suddenly attacked the advanced division and put it to flight. The Pharaoh then charged the Hittites in his chariot. Probably some of them had scattered to plunder the abandoned camp. Probably, also, Ramses had captive lions, trained to battle, whom he loosed against the foe. Per-

haps, also, he had a few uncounted hundreds of his household guards at his back. At any rate by some means he hurled back the Hittites and held them in check until the slower divisions of his army arrived and made his success complete. This victory, by which Ramses once more broke the Hittite strength, is known to history as the battle of Kadesh.

THE TRIUMPH OF RAMSES II.¹

Beginning of the victory of King Ramses Miamun — may he live forever! — which he obtained over the people of the Khita, of Naharain, of Malunna, of Pidasas, of the Dardani, over the people of Masa, of Karkisha, of Qaswatan, of Carchemish, of Kati, of Anaugas, over the people of Akerith and Mushanath.

The youthful king with the bold hand has not his equal.
His arms are powerful, his heart is firm,
His courage is like that of the god of war, Monthu, in the fight.

He leads his warriors to unknown peoples.
He seizes his weapons, and is a wall of iron for his warriors,
Their shield in the day of battle.
He seizes his bow, and no man offers opposition.
Mightier than a hundred thousand united together goes he forward.

His courage is firm like that of a bull which seizes . . .
He has smitten all peoples who had united themselves together.

No man knows the thousands of men who stood against him.
A hundred thousand sank before his glance.

Terrible is he when his war-cry resounds;
Bolder than the whole world;
Dreadful as the grim lion in the valley of the gazelles.
His command will be performed.

No opponent dares to speak against him.
Wise is his counsel. Complete are his decisions,
When he wears the royal crown *Atef* and declares his will,
A protector of his people against unrighteousness.
His heart is like a mountain of iron.
Such is King Ramses Miamun.

¹ This translation is based on that of the famous German Egyptologist and Pasha, Dr. Henry Brugsch.

After the King had armed his people and his chariots,
And in like manner the Shardonians, which were once his
prisoners.

Then was the order given them for the battle.
The king took his way downward,
And his people and his chariots accompanied him,
And followed the best road on their march.

In the fifth year, on the ninth day of the month Payni,
The fortress of Khetam of the land of Zar opened to the
King.

As if he had been the god of war, Monthu himself,
The whole world trembled, and terror seized all enemies
Who came near to bow themselves before the King.
And his warriors passed by the path of the desert,
And went on along the roads of the North.

Many days after this the King was in the city of Ramses
Miamun

Which is situated in Zahi. After the King had marched
upward,

He reached . . . and arrived as far as Kadesh.

Then the King passed by in their sight

Like his father Monthu, the lord of Thebes.

He marched through the valley of the river Arunatha,

With him the first legion of Amon,

Amon, who secures victory to the King Ramses Miamun.

And when the King approached the city,

Behold, the miserable King of the hostile Khita had arrived.

He had assembled with him all the peoples

From the uttermost ends of the sea to the people of Khita.

They had arrived in great numbers:

The people of Naharain, the people of Arathu, of the Dar-
dani,

The Masu, the Pidasa, the Malunna, the Karkish,

The Leka, Qazuadana, Carchemish, Akarith, Kati,

The whole people of Anaugas, every one of them,

Mushanath, and Kadesh.

He had left no people on his road without bringing them with him.

Their number was endless; nothing like it had ever been before.

They covered mountains and valleys like grasshoppers in number.

He had not left silver nor gold with his people;

He had taken away all their goods and possessions,

To give to the people who accompanied him to the war.

Now had the miserable King of the hostile Khita

And the many peoples which were with him hidden themselves

In an ambush to the northwest of the city of Kadesh,

While Pharaoh was alone, no other was with him.

The legion of Amon advanced behind him.

The legion of Phra crossed the ditch west of the town of Shabatuna,

Divided by a long interval from the legion of Ptah,

In the midst, in the direction toward the town of Arnama.

The legion of Sutekh marched on by their roads.

And the King called together all the chief men of his warriors.

Behold, they were at the lake of the land of the Amorites.

At the same time the miserable King of Khita

Was in the midst of his warriors, which were with him.

But his hand was not so bold as to venture battle with Pharaoh.

Therefore he drew away the horsemen and the chariots,

Which were numerous as the sand;

And they stood three men on each war-chariot.

Assembled in one spot were the best heroes of the army of Khita,

Well appointed with all weapons for the fight.

Yet they did not dare to advance.

They stood in ambush northwest of the town of Kadesh.

Then they went out from Kadesh, on the side of the south,

And threw themselves into the midst of the legion of Phra-
Harmakhis,
Which gave way, and was not prepared for the fight.
There Pharaoh's warriors and chariots gave way before them.
And Pharaoh had placed himself to the north of the town of
Kadesh
On the west side of the river Arunatha.
Then they came to tell the King.

Then the King arose like his father Monthu;
He seized his weapons and put on his armor, like Baal in his
time.
And the noble pair of horses which carried Pharaoh,
And whose name was "Victory in Thebes,"
They were from the court of King Ramses Miamun.
When the King had quickened his course,
He rushed into the middle of the hostile hosts of Khita,
All alone, no other was with him.
When Pharaoh had done this, he looked behind him,
He was surrounded by two thousand five hundred pairs of
horses,
And his retreat was beset by the bravest heroes
Of the miserable King of the people of Khita,
And by all the numerous peoples that were with him,
Of Arathu, of Masu, of Pidasa, of Keshkesh,
Of Malunna, of Qazuadana, of Khilibu, of Akerith,
Of Kadesh, and of Leka.
And there were three men on each chariot,
And they were all gathered together.²

"And not one of my princes, not one of my captains of the
chariot,
Not one of my chief men, not one of my knights was there.
My warriors and my chariots had abandoned me,
Not one of them was there to take part in the battle.

² The style of the narrative changes here and Ramses begins to
speak for himself.

“Thereupon speaks Pharaoh: ‘Where art thou, my father
Amon?

If this means that the father has forgotten his son,
Behold have I done anything without thy knowledge,
Oh have I not gone and followed the judgments of thy
mouth?

Never were the precepts of thy mouth transgressed,
Nor have I broken thy commands in any respect.
The noble lord and ruler of Egypt,
Should he bow himself before the foreign peoples in his way?
Whatever may be the intention of these vile herdsmen,
Amon should stand higher than the miserable one who knows
no God.

“‘Shall it have been for nothing
That I have dedicated to thee many and noble monuments,
That I have filled thy temples with my prisoners of war,
That I have built to thee temples to last many thousands of
years,
That I have given to thee all my substance as household fur-
niture,
That the whole united land has been ordered to pay tribute
to you,
That I have dedicated to thee sacrifices of ten thousands of
oxen,
And of all the good and sweet-smelling woods?
Never did I withhold my hand from doing that which thy
wish required.
I have built for thee propyla and wonderful works of stone,
I have raised to thee masts for all times,
I have conveyed obelisks for thee from the island of Elephan-
tine,
It was I who had brought for thee the everlasting stone,
Who caused the ships to go for thee on the sea,
To bring thee the productions of foreign nations.
Where has it been told that such a thing was done at any other
time?

“ ‘ Let him be put to shame who rejects thy commands,
But good be to him who acknowledges thee, O Amon !
I have acted for thee with a willing heart ;
Therefore I call on thee. Behold now, Amon,
I am in the midst of many unknown peoples in great numbers.

All have united together, and I am all alone ; no other is with me ;

My warriors and my charioteers have deserted me.
I called to them, and not one of them heard my voice.
But I find that Amon is better to me than millions of warriors,

Than hundreds of thousands of horses,
Than tens of thousands of brothers and sons,
Even if they were all united in one place.
The works of a multitude of men are as nothing ;
Amon is better than they.

What has happened to me here is by the command of thy mouth,

O Amon, and I will not transgress thy command.
Behold I call upon thee at the uttermost ends of the world.’

“ And my voice found an echo in Hermonthis,
And Amon heard it and came at my cry.
He reached out his hand to me, and I shouted for joy.
He called out to me from behind :

‘ I have hastened to thee, Ramses Miamun. I am with thee.
I am he, thy father, the Sun-god Re. My hand is with thee.
Yes ! I am worth more than hundreds of thousands united in one place.

I am the lord of victory, the friend of valor ;
I have found in thee a right spirit, and my heart rejoices therein.’

“ All this came to pass.

I was changed, being made like the god Monthu.
I hurled the dart with my right hand,
I fought with my left hand.

I was like Baal in his time, before their sight.
I had met two thousand five hundred pairs of horses;
I was in the midst of the charioteers;
But they were dashed in pieces before my horses.
Not one of them raised his hand to fight;
Their courage was sunken in their breasts,
Their limbs gave way, they could not hurl the dart,
Nor had they the courage to thrust with the spear.
I made them fall into the waters just as the crocodiles fall in.
They tumbled down on their faces one after another.
I killed them at my pleasure, so that not one looked back
Behind him, nor did another turn around.
Each one fell, he raised himself not up again.

“ There stood the miserable King of the Khita
In the midst of his warriors and his chariots,
To behold the fight of the King. He was all alone;
Not one of his warriors, not one of his chariots was with him.
There he turned round for fright before the King.
Thereupon he sent the princes in great numbers,
Each of them with his chariot well equipped with the weapons:

The King of Arathu and him of Masa,
The King of Malunna and him of Leka,
The King of the Dardani and him of Keshkesh,
The King of Carchemish and him of Khilibu.
There were all the brothers of the King of Khita united in
one place
To the number of two thousand five hundred pairs of horses.
They forthwith rushed right on,
Their countenance directed to the flame of fire (Pharaoh's
face).

“ I rushed down upon them. Like Monthu was I.
I let them taste my hand in the space of a moment.
I dashed them down, and killed them where they stood.
Then cried out one of them to his neighbor, saying,
‘ This is no man. Ah! woe to us!

He who is in our midst is Sutekh, the glorious;
Baal is in all his limbs. Let us hasten and flee before him.
Let us save our lives; let us try our breath.' "

As soon as any one attacked him,
His hand fell down and every limb of his body.
They could not aim either the bow or the spear.
They only looked at him as he came on in his headlong career
from afar.
The King was behind them like a griffin.

" I struck them down; they did not escape me.
I lifted up my voice to my warriors and to my charioteers,
And spake to them, 'Halt! Stand!
Take courage, my warriors, my charioteers!
Look upon my victory. I am alone, but Amon is my helper,
And his hand is with me.'

" When Menna, my charioteer, beheld with his eyes
How many pairs of horses surrounded me,
His courage left him, and his heart was afraid.
Fright and great terror took possession of his whole body,
Quickly he spake to me: 'My gracious lord, thou brave
King,
Thou guardian of the Egyptians in the battle, protect us.
We stand alone in the midst of enemies.
Stop, to save the breath of life for us.
Give us deliverance, protect us, O King Ramses Miamun.'

" Then spake I, the King, to my charioteer:
'Halt! Stand! Take courage, my charioteer.
I will swoop down among them as the sparrow-hawk swoops.
I will slay them, I will cut them in pieces,
I will dash them to the ground in the dust!
Why, then, is such a thought in thy heart?
These are unclean ones for Amon.
Wretches who do not acknowledge the god.' "

And the King hurried onward.

He charged down upon the hostile hosts of Khita.

For the sixth time, when he charged upon them, said the King:

“There was I like to Baal behind them in his time,
When he has strength. I killed them; no one escaped me.”

And the King cried to his warriors, and his chariot-fighters,
And likewise to his princes, who had taken no part in the fight,

“Miserable is your courage, my chariot-fighters.

Of no profit is it to have you for friends.

Ah, if there had been only so much as one of you

Who showed himself a good warrior for my country!

If I had not stood firm as your King, you had been conquered!

I exalt you daily to be princes.

I place the son in the inheritance of his father,

Warding off all injury from the land of the Egyptians,

And you forsake me! Such servants are worthless.

I made you rich, I was your protecting lord,

And each of you who complained supplicating to me,

I gave him protection in his affairs every day.

No Pharaoh has done for his people what I have done for you.

I allowed you to remain in your villages and in your towns.

Neither the captain nor his chariot horses did any work.

I pointed out to them the road from their city,

That they might find it in like manner

At the day and the hour when the battle comes on,

Now behold! A bad service altogether has been performed for me.

None of you stood by, to stretch his hand to me when I fought.

“By the name of my father Amon!

O that I may be for Egypt like my father, the Sun-god Re!

Not a single one of you would watch,

To attend to what concerns his duty in the land of Egypt.
Such should be the good kind of men, who have been entrusted
With work for the memorial-places in Thebes, the city of
Amon.

This is a great fault which my warriors have committed,
Greater than it is possible to describe.
Now behold, I have achieved the victory.
No warrior and no chariot-fighter was with me.
The whole world from afar beholds the strength of my arm.
I was all alone. No other was with me.
No prince was by my side, of the captains of the chariots,
No captain of the soldiers, nor any horseman.
The foreign peoples were eye-witnesses of this.
They publish my name to the farthest and most unknown
regions.
All the combatants whom my hand left surviving,
They stood there, turning themselves to wonder at what I
did;
And though millions of them had been there
They would not have kept their feet,
But would have run away.
For every one who shot an arrow aimed at me,
His own weapon failed, which should have reached me.

“When now my warriors and my charioteers saw
That I was named like Monthu of the victorious arm,
And that Amon my father was with me,
And the special favor he had done for me,
And that the foreigners all lay like hay before my horses,
Then they came forward one after another
Out of the camp at the time of evening,
And found all the people which had come against them,
The best combatants of the people of Khita,
And of the sons and brothers of their King,
Stretched out and weltering in their blood.
And when it was light next morning in the plain of Kadesh,
One could hardly find a place for his foot,
On account of their multitude.

“ Then came my warriors forward to praise highly my name,
Full of astonishment at what I had done.

My princes came forward to honor my courage,
And my chariot-fighters also to praise my strength.

‘ How wast thou, great champion of firm courage,
The savior of thy warriors and of thy chariot-fighters!

Thou son of Amon, who came forth from the hands of the
god,

Thou hast annihilated the people of Khita by thy mighty
arm.

Thou art a good champion, a lord of victory;

No other king fights as thou for his warriors in the day of
battle.

Thou, O bold one, art the first in the fight.

The whole world united in one place does not trouble thee.

Thou art the greatest conqueror at the head of thy warriors

In the sight of the whole world.

No one dares to contend with thee.

Thou art he who protects the Egyptians,

Who chastises the foreigners.

Thou hast broken the neck of Khita for everlasting times.’ ”

Thereupon the King answered his warriors

And his chariot-fighters, and likewise his princes:

“ My warriors, my charioteers, who have not taken part in
the fight.

A man does not succeed in obtaining honor in his city

Unless he exhibits his prowess before his lord, the King.

Good will be his name if he is brave in the battle.

By deeds, by deeds, will he win the applause of the land.

Have I not given what is good to each of you,

That ye left me, so that I was alone amidst hostile hosts?

Forsaken by you, my life was in peril,

And you breathed tranquilly, and I was alone.

Could you not have said in your hearts

That I was a rampart of iron to you?

Will any one obey him who leaves me in the lurch

When I am alone without any followers?

When nobody comes of the princes, of the knights,
And of the chief men of the army, to reach me out his hand?
I was alone thus fighting,
And I have withstood millions of foreigners — I — all alone.

“ ‘Victory in Thebes,’ and ‘Mut is satisfied,’ my pair of
horses,
It was they who found me, to strengthen my hand,
When I was alone in the raging multitude of hostile hosts.
I will myself henceforth have their fodder given to them
For their nourishment, in my presence,
When I shall dwell in the palace,
Because I have found them in the midst of hostile hosts,
Together with the captain of the horsemen, Menna, my
charioteer,
Of all the band of trusted palace servants who stand near me.
Here are the eye-witnesses of the battle.
Behold, these did I find.”

The King returned in victory and strength;
He had smitten hundreds of thousands in one place with his
arm.
When the earth was again light in the morning
He arranged the hosts of his warriors for the fight,
And he stood there prepared for the battle,
Like a bull which has whetted his horns.
He appeared to them a likeness of the god Monthu,
Who has armed himself for the battle.
Likewise his brave warriors, who dashed into the fight,
Just as the hawk swoops down upon the kids.

“The diadem of the royal snake adorned my head.
It spat fire and glowing flame in the face of my enemies.
I appeared like the Sun-god at his rising at dawn.
My shining beams were a consuming fire for the limbs of the
wicked.
They cried out to one another, ‘Take care, do not fall!
For the powerful snake of royalty, which accompanies him,

Has placed itself on his horse. It helps him.
Every one who comes in his way and falls down,
There comes forth fire and flame to consume his body.' ”

And they remained afar off, and threw themselves down on
the earth,
To entreat the King in the sight of his army.
And the King had power over them
And slew them without their being able to escape.
As bodies tumbled before his horses,
So they lay there stretched out altogether in their blood.

Then the King of the hostile people of Khita
Sent a messenger to pray piteously to the great name of the
King,
Speaking thus: “Thou art Re-Harmakhu.
Thou art Sutekh the glorious,
The son of Nut, Baal in his time.
Thy terror is upon the land of Khita,
For thou hast broken the neck of Khita forever and ever.”
Thereupon he allowed his messenger to enter.
He bore a writing in his hand with the address,
“To the great double-name of the King.”

May this suffice for the satisfaction of the heart
Of the holiness of the royal house, the Sun-Horus,
The mighty Bull, who loves justice, the great lord,
The protector of his people, the brave with his arm,
The rampart of his life-guards in the day of battle,
The King Ramses Miamun.

The servant speaks, he makes known to Pharaoh,
My gracious lord, the beautiful son of Re-Harmakhis, as follows:

“Since thou art the son of Amon,
From whose body thou art sprung,
So has he granted to thee all the people together.
The people of Egypt and the people of Khita

Ought to be brothers together as thy servants.

Let them be at thy feet.

The Sun-god Re has granted thee the best inhabitants of the earth.

Do us no injury, glorious spirit,

Whose anger weighs upon the people of Khita.

Would it be good if thou shouldst wish to kill thy servants,

Whom thou hast brought under thy power?

Thy look is terrible, and thou art not mildly disposed.

Calm thyself.

Yesterday thou camest and hast slain hundreds of thousands.

Thou comest to-day, and none will be left remaining to serve thee.

Do not carry out thy purpose, thou mighty King.

Better is peace than war. Give us freedom."

Then the King turned back in a gentle humor,

Like his father Monthu in his time,

And Pharaoh assembled all the leaders of the army

And of the chariot-fighters and of the life-guards.

And when they were all assembled together in one place

They were permitted to hear the contents of the message

Which the great King of Khita had sent to him.

When they had heard these words,

Which the messenger of the King of Khita had brought to Pharaoh,

Then they answered and spake thus to the King:

"Excellent, excellent is that!

Let thy anger pass away, O great lord our King!

He who does not accept peace must offer it.

Who would content thee in the day of thy wrath?"

Then the King gave order

To listen to the words of him the King of Khita,

And he let his hands rest, in order to return to the South.

Then the King went in peace to the land of Egypt

With his princes, with his army, and his charioteers,

In serene humor, in the sight of his people.
All countries feared the power of the King,
As of the lord of both the worlds.
It had protected his own warriors.
All peoples came at his name,
Their kings fell down to pray before his beautiful counte-
nance.
The King reached the city of Ramses Miamun,
The great worshiper of Re-Harmakhis,
And rested in his palace in the most serene humor,
Just like the sun on his throne.

And Amon came to greet him, speaking thus to him :
" Be thou blessed, thou our son,
Whom we love, Ramses Miamun !
May they secure to him without end
Many thirty years' feasts of jubilee
Forever on the chair of his father Tum,
And may all lands be under his feet ! "

THE GREAT EMPIRE

(1600 B.C.—525 B.C.)

ROMANCE AND TRAVEL UNDER THE GREAT EMPIRE

*“I shall never again be with thee, I shall never again be in
the places where thou wilt be.”*

—THE TALE OF THE TWO BROTHERS.

TALES OF ROMANCE AND TRAVEL UNDER THE GREAT EMPIRE

(INTRODUCTION)

THE romances in this section need but little further explanation to the reader. They are of the type which must have constituted the popular reading under the Great Empire. The first one, "The Two Brothers," is particularly celebrated because it was the piece of fiction first rediscovered from Ancient Egypt. It was found in 1852 and, as Egyptologists had previously known only the solemn side of the old Egyptian life, they were amazed to stumble on this lighter literature. The story was read everywhere in Europe and widely discussed. The old papyrus carried a note that it was the property of a prince, who afterward became King Seti II. of the Nineteenth Dynasty, a grandson of the conquering Ramses II. Hence royalty itself had dallied over the idle tale. A king had cared to note these pictures drawn from peasant life. The thought lends a sympathetic interest to the old papyrus. And though we have since found other and better pieces of Egyptian fiction, "The Tale of the Two Brothers" has always retained its popularity.

The resemblance of its earlier pages to the Bible story of Joseph and Potiphar's wife will strike the reader. Indeed the closeness of intercourse between the Hebrews and Egyptians is nowhere more evident than in the similarity of their tales. If the reader will turn back to that oldest manuscript of Egyptian fiction, "The Tales of the Magicians," he may read there a childish version of the folding back of the Red Sea for the Israelites, in the story of a magician folding back a lake to find a lost ring; and in the story of a page swallowed by a crocodile, he will find a similarly childish prede-

cessor of Jonah. What the Hebrews added to the stories was dignity, a high and solemn religious meaning. The marvels cease to be the purposeless play of infantile minds, and become of world-wide significance in their symbolizing of that omnipotence of deity, from which no man can hide, and which not even the might of emperors can oppose.

As to the "Travels of Unamunu," they have both an historical and a religious value. They belong to the Twentieth Dynasty, to the reign of Ramses XI., about 1120 B.C., a time when the Great Empire had already lost its strength and become but the struggling shadow of its former self. Hence we find Unamunu, although sent as an envoy by the Egyptian monarch, receives but dubious welcome in the Phenician cities of Syria. One ruler insists decisively that he owes no tribute to the Pharaoh. Others seek to slay the envoy. It is in this connection that the religious side of the tale becomes prominent. Unamunu attributes all his escapes, his successes, to the god, or to the statue of a god, which he carries with him. "Amon of the road" is thus pictured as a protecting deity for travelers; and it has been suggested that the tale of Unamunu may really have been part of a temple-record intended to exalt the value of the god. As the papyrus breaks off in the midst of Unamunu's most exciting adventure, we can not be sure as to its ultimate intent.

ROMANCE AND TRAVEL

THE TWO BROTHERS ¹

Once there were two brethren, of one mother and one father; Anpu was the name of the elder, and Bata was the name of the younger.² Now, as for Anpu he had a house, and he had a wife. But his little brother was to him as it were a son; he it was who made for him his clothes; he it was who followed behind his oxen to the fields; he it was who did the plowing; he it was who harvested the corn; he it was who did for him all the matters that were in the field. Behold, his younger brother grew to be an excellent worker, there was not his equal in the whole land; behold, the spirit of a god was in him.

Now after this the younger brother followed his oxen in his daily manner; and every evening he turned again to the house, laden with all the herbs of the field, with milk and with wood, and with all things of the field. And he put them down before his elder brother, who was sitting with his wife; and he drank and ate, and he lay down in his stable with the cattle. And at the dawn of day he took bread which he had baked, and laid it before his elder brother; and he took with him his bread to the field, and he drove his cattle to pasture in the fields. And as he walked behind his cattle they said to him, "Good is the herbage which is in that place"; and he listened to all that they said, and he took them to the good place which they desired. And the cattle which were before him became exceeding excellent, and they multiplied greatly.

Now at the time of plowing his elder brother said unto him, "Let us make ready for ourselves a goodly yoke of oxen for plowing, for the land has come out from the water, it is

¹ From the translation of Prof. W. Flinders-Petrie.

² The names of the two brothers are the broken-down names of two of the older gods, Anubis and Balti. The latter was a two-headed bull, as befits his part in the tale.

fit for plowing. Moreover, do thou come to the field with corn, for we will begin the plowing in the morrow morning." Thus said he to him; and his younger brother did all things as his elder brother had spoken unto him to do them.

And when the morn was come they went to the fields with their things; and their hearts were pleased exceedingly with their task in the beginning of their work. And it came to pass after this that as they were in the field they stopped for corn, and he sent his younger brother, saying, "Haste thou, bring to us corn from the farm." And the younger brother found the wife of his elder brother, as she was sitting tiring her hair. He said to her, "Get up, and give to me corn, that I may run to the field, for my elder brother hastened me; do not delay." She said to him, "Go, open the bin, and thou shalt take to thyself according to thy will, that I may not drop my locks of hair while I dress them."

The youth went into the stable; he took a large measure, for he desired to take much corn; he loaded it with wheat and barley; and he went out carrying it. She said to him, "How much of the corn that is wanted is that which is on thy shoulder?" He said to her, "Three bushels of barley, and two of wheat, in all five; these are what are upon my shoulder"; thus said he to her.³ And she conversed with him, saying, "There is great strength in thee, for I see thy might every day." And her heart knew him with the knowledge of youth. And she arose and came to him, and conversed with him, saying, "Come, stay with me, and it shall be well for thee, and I will make for thee beautiful garments." Then the youth became like a panther of the South with fury at the evil speech which she had made to him; and she feared greatly. And he spake unto her, saying, "Behold thou art to me as a mother, thy husband is to me as a father, for he who is elder than I has brought me up. What is this wickedness that thou hast said to me? Say it not to me again. For I will not tell it to any man, for I will not let it be uttered by the mouth

³ The five measures represent over three hundred quarts or, roughly, about six hundred pounds, an enormous load justifying the exclamation of admiring wonder which follows.

of any man." He lifted up his burden, and he went to the field and came to his elder brother; and they took up their work, to labor at their task.

Now afterward, at eventime, his elder brother was returning to his house; and the younger brother was following after his oxen, and he loaded himself with all the things of the field; and he brought his oxen before him, to make them lie down in their stable which was in the farm. And behold the wife of the elder brother was afraid for the words which she had said. She took a parcel of fat, she became like one who is evilly beaten,⁴ desiring to say to her husband, "It is thy younger brother who has done this wrong." Her husband returned in the even, as was his wont of every day; he came unto his house; he found his wife ill of violence; she did not give him water upon his hands as he used to have, she did not make a light before him, his house was in darkness, and she was lying very sick. Her husband said to her, "Who has spoken with thee?" Behold she said, "No one has spoken with me except thy younger brother. When he came to take for thee corn he found me sitting alone; he said to me, 'Come, let us stay together, tie up thy hair': thus spake he to me. I did not listen to him, but thus spake I to him: 'Behold, am I not thy mother, is not thy elder brother to thee as a father?' And he feared, and he beat me to stop me from making report to thee, and if thou lettest him live I shall die. Now behold he is coming in the evening; and I complain of these wicked words, for he would have done this even in daylight."

And the elder brother became as a panther of the South; he sharpened his knife; he took it in his hand; he stood behind the door of his stable to slay his younger brother as he came in the evening to bring his cattle into the stable.

Now the sun went down, and Bata loaded himself with herbs in his daily manner. He came, and his foremost cow entered the stable, and she said to her keeper, "Behold thou thy elder brother standing before thee with his knife to slay

⁴ That is, she rubbed herself with the fat so her body shone in spots as though bruised.

thee; flee from before him." He heard what his first cow had said; and the next entering, she also said likewise. He looked beneath the door of the stable; he saw the feet of his elder brother; he was standing behind the door, and his knife was in his hand. He cast down his load to the ground, and betook himself to flee swiftly; and his elder brother pursued after him with his knife. Then the younger brother cried out unto Re-Harmakhis, saying, "My good Lord! Thou art he who divides the evil from the good." And Re stood and heard all his cry; and Re made a wide water between him and his elder brother, and it was full of crocodiles; and the one brother was on one bank, and the other on the other bank; and the elder brother smote twice on his hands at not slaying him. Thus did he. And the younger brother called to the elder on the bank, saying, "Stand still until the dawn of day; and when Re ariseth, I shall judge with thee before him, and he decerneth between the good and the evil. For I shall not be with thee any more forever; I shall not be in the place in which thou art; I shall go to the valley of the acacia."

Now when the land was lightened, and the next day appeared, Re-Harmakhis arose, and one looked unto the other. And the youth spake with his elder brother, saying, "Wherefore camest thou after me to slay me in craftiness, when thou didst not hear the words of my mouth? For I am thy brother in truth, and thou art to me as a father, and thy wife even as a mother: is it not so? Verily, when I was sent to bring for us corn, thy wife said to me, 'Come, stay with me'; for behold this has been turned over unto thee into another wise." And he caused him to understand of all that happened with him and his wife. And he swore an oath by Re-Harmakhis, saying, "Thy coming to slay me by deceit with thy knife was an abomination." Then the youth took a knife, and cut off his virile member, and cast it into the water, and the fish swallowed it. He failed; he became faint; and his elder brother cursed his own heart greatly; he stood weeping for him afar off; he knew not how to pass over to where his younger brother was, because of the crocodiles.

And the younger brother called unto him, saying, "Whereas thou hast devised an evil thing, wilt thou not also devise a good thing, even like that which I would do unto thee? When thou goest to thy house thou must look to thy cattle, for I shall not stay in the place where thou art; I am going to the valley of the acacia. And now as to what thou shalt do for me: it is even that thou shalt come to seek after me, if thou perceivest a matter, namely, that there are things happening unto me. And this is what shall come to pass, that I shall draw out my soul, and I shall put it upon the top of the flowers of the acacia, and when the acacia is cut down, and it falls to the ground, and thou comest to seek for it, if thou searchest for it seven years do not let thy heart be wearied. For thou wilt find it, and thou must put it in a cup of cold water, and expect that I shall live again, that I may make answer to what has been done wrong. And thou shalt know of this, that is to say, that things are happening to me, when one shall give to thee a cup of beer in thy hand, and it shall be troubled; stay not then, for verily it shall come to pass with thee."

And the youth went to the valley of the acacia; and his elder brother went unto his house; his hand was laid on his head, and he cast dust on his head; he came to his house, and he slew his wife, he cast her to the dogs, and he sat in mourning for his younger brother.

Now many days after these things, the younger brother was in the valley of the acacia; there was none with him; he spent his time in hunting the beasts of the desert, and he came back in the even to lie down under the acacia, which bore his soul upon the topmost flower. And after this he built himself a tower with his own hands, in the valley of the acacia; it was full of all good things, that he might provide for himself a home.

And he went out from his tower, and he met the Nine Gods, who were walking forth to look upon the whole land. The Nine Gods talked one with another, and they said unto him, "Ho! Bata, bull of the Nine Gods, art thou remaining

alone? Thou hast left thy village for the wife of Anpu, thy elder brother. Behold his wife is slain. Thou hast given him an answer to all that was transgressed against thee." And their hearts were vexed for him exceedingly. And Re-Harmakhis said to Khnumu,⁵ "Behold, frame thou a woman for Bata, that he may not remain alive alone." And Khnumu made for him a mate to dwell with him. She was more beautiful in her limbs than any woman who is in the whole land. The essence of every god was in her. The seven Hathors came to see her: they said with one mouth, "She will die a sharp death."

And Bata loved her very exceedingly, and she dwelt in his house; he passed his time in hunting the beasts of the desert, and brought and laid them before her. He said, "Go not outside, lest the sea seize thee; for I can not rescue thee from it, for I am a woman like thee; my soul is placed on the head of the flower of the acacia; and if another find it, I must fight with him." And he opened unto her his heart in all its nature.

Now after these things Bata went to hunt in his daily manner. And the young girl went to walk under the acacia which was by the side of her house. Then the sea saw her, and cast its waves up after her. She betook herself to flee from before it. She entered her house. And the sea called unto the acacia, saying, "Oh, would that I could seize her!" And the acacia brought a lock from her hair, and the sea carried it to Egypt, and dropped it in the place of the fullers of Pharaoh's linen. The smell of the lock of hair entered into the clothes of Pharaoh; and they were wroth with the fullers of Pharaoh, saying, "The smell of ointment is in the clothes of Pharaoh." And the people were rebuked every day, they knew not what they should do. And the chief fuller of Pharaoh walked by the bank, and his heart was very evil within him after the daily quarrel with him. He stood still, he stood upon the sand opposite to the lock of hair, which was in the water, and he made one enter into

⁵ Khnumu is the creating or modeling god, always called on for work of this type.

the water and bring it to him; and there was found in it a smell, exceeding sweet. He took it to Pharaoh; and they brought the scribes and the wise men, and they said unto Pharaoh, "This lock of hair belongs to a daughter of Re-Harmakhis: the essence of every god is in her, and it is a tribute to thee from another land. Let messengers go to every strange land to seek her: and as for the messenger who shall go to the valley of the acacia, let many men go with him to bring her." Then said his Majesty, "Excellent exceedingly is what has been said to us"; and they sent them. And many days after these things the people who were sent to strange lands came to give report unto the King: but there came not those who went to the valley of the acacia, for Bata had slain them, but let one of them return to give a report to the King. His Majesty sent many men and soldiers, as well as horsemen, to bring her back. And there was a woman amongst them, and to her had been given in her hand beautiful ornaments of a woman. And the girl came back with her, and they rejoiced over her in the whole land.

And his Majesty loved her exceedingly, and raised her to high estate; and he spake unto her that she should tell him concerning her husband. And she said, "Let the acacia be cut down, and let one chop it up." And they sent men and soldiers with their weapons to cut down the acacia; and they came to the acacia, and they cut the flower upon which was the soul of Bata, and he fell dead suddenly.

And when the next day came, and the earth was lightened, the acacia was cut down. And Anpu, the elder brother of Bata, entered his house, and washed his hands; and one gave him a cup of beer, and it became troubled; and one gave him another of wine, and the smell of it was evil. Then he took his staff, and his sandals, and likewise his clothes, with his weapons of war; and he betook himself forth to the valley of the acacia. He entered the tower of his younger brother, and he found him lying upon his mat; he was dead. And he wept when he saw his younger brother verily lying dead. And he went out to seek the soul of his younger brother

under the acacia-tree, under which his younger brother lay in the evening. He spent three years in seeking for it, but found it not. And when he began the fourth year, he desired in his heart to return into Egypt; he said, "I will go to-morrow morn": thus spake he in his heart.

Now when the land lightened, and the next day appeared, he was walking under the acacia; he was spending his time in seeking it. And he returned in the evening, and labored at seeking it again. He found a seed. He returned with it. Behold this was the soul of his younger brother. He brought a cup of cold water, and he cast the seed into it; and he sat down, as he was wont. Now when the night came his soul sucked up the water; Bata shuddered in all his limbs, and he looked on his elder brother; his soul was in the cup. Then Anpu took the cup of cold water, in which the soul of his younger brother was; Bata drank it, his soul stood again in its place, and he became as he had been. They embraced each other, and they conversed together.

And Bata said to his elder brother. "Behold, I am to become as a great bull, which bears every good mark; no one knoweth its history, and thou must sit upon my back.⁶ When the sun arises I shall be in the place where my wife is, that I may return answer to her; and thou must take me to the place where the King is. For all good things shall be done for thee; for one shall lade thee with silver and gold, because thou bringest me to Pharaoh, for I become a great marvel, and they shall rejoice for me in all the land. And thou shalt go to thy village."

And when the land was lightened, and the next day appeared, Bata became in the form which he had told to his elder brother. And Anpu sat upon his back until the dawn. He came to the place where the King was, and they made his Majesty to know of him; he saw him, and he was exceeding joyful with him. He made for him great offerings,

⁶ Bata now becomes an Apis, the holy bull worshiped as containing the spirit of a god. When an Apis died his successor was sought everywhere by the priests and was recognized by certain secret marks. Until he was found the land remained in mourning.

saying, "This is a great wonder which has come to pass." There were rejoicings over him in the whole land. They presented unto him silver and gold for his elder brother, who went and stayed in his village. They gave to the bull many men and many things, and Pharaoh loved him exceedingly above all that is in this land.

And after many days after these things, the bull entered the purified place; he stood in the place where the princess was; he began to speak with her, saying, "Behold, I am alive indeed."⁷ And she said to him, "And, pray, who art thou?" He said to her, "I am Bata. I perceived when thou causedst that they should destroy the acacia of Pharaoh, which was my abode, that I might not be suffered to live. Behold, I am alive indeed, I am as an ox." Then the princess feared exceedingly for the words that her husband had spoken to her. And he went out from the purified place.

And his Majesty was sitting, making a good day with her: she was at the table of his Majesty, and the King was exceedingly pleased with her. And she said to his Majesty, "Swear to me by God, saying, 'What thou shalt say, I will obey it for thy sake.'" He harkened unto all that she said, even this. "Let me eat of the liver of the ox, because he is fit for naught": thus spake she to him. And the King was exceedingly sad at her words; the heart of Pharaoh grieved him greatly. And after the land was lightened, and the next day appeared, they proclaimed a great feast with offerings to the ox. And the King sent one of the chief butchers of his Majesty, to cause the ox to be sacrificed. And when he was sacrificed, as he was upon the shoulders of the people, he shook his neck, and he threw two drops of blood over against the two doors of his Majesty. The one fell upon the one side, on the great door of Pharaoh, and the other upon the other door. They grew as two great Persea trees, and each of them was excellent.⁸

⁷ The Apis was free to wander anywhere. Hence in this impersonation Bata can stroll through the palace at will.

⁸ Persea trees were sacred to the great god Osiris. Two were often planted at the entrance to his temples.

And one went to tell unto his Majesty, "Two great Persea trees have grown, as a great marvel of his Majesty, in the night by the side of the great gate of his Majesty." And there was rejoicing for them in all the land, and there were offerings made to them.

And when the days were multiplied after these things, his Majesty was adorned with the blue crown, with garlands of flowers on his neck, and he was upon the chariot of pale gold, and he went out from the palace to behold the Persea trees: the princess also was going out with horses behind his Majesty. And his Majesty sat beneath one of the Persea trees, and it spake thus with his wife: "Oh thou deceitful one, I am Bata, I am alive, though I have been evilly entreated. I knew who caused the acacia to be cut down by Pharaoh at my dwelling. I then became an ox, and thou causedst that I should be killed."

And many days after these things the princess stood at the table of Pharaoh, and the King was pleased with her. And she said to his Majesty, "Swear to me by God, saying, 'That which the princess shall say to me I will obey it for her.'" And he harkened unto all she said. And she commanded, "Let these two Persea trees be cut down, and let them be made into goodly planks." And he harkened unto all she said. And after this his Majesty sent skilful craftsmen, and they cut down the Persea trees of Pharaoh; and the princess, the royal wife, was standing looking on, and they did all that was in her heart unto the trees. But a chip flew up, and it entered into the mouth of the princess; she swallowed it, and after many days she bore a son. And one went to tell his Majesty, "There is born to thee a son." And they brought him, and gave to him a nurse and servants; and there were rejoicings in the whole land. And the King sat making a merry day, as they were about the naming of him, and his Majesty loved him exceedingly at that moment, and the King raised him to be the royal son of Kush.

Now after the days had multiplied after these things, his Majesty made him heir of all the land. And many days after that, when he had fulfilled many years as heir, his

Majesty flew up to heaven. And the heir said, "Let my great nobles of his Majesty be brought before me, that I may make them to know all that has happened to me." And they brought also before him his wife, and he judged with her before him, and they agreed with him. They brought to him his elder brother; he made him hereditary prince in all his land. He was thirty years King of Egypt, and he died, and his elder brother stood in his place on the day of burial.

Excellently finished in peace, for the *ka* of the scribe of the treasury Kagabu, of the treasury of Pharaoh, and for the scribe Hora, and the scribe Meremapt. Written by the scribe Anena, the owner of this roll. He who speaks against this roll, may Tahuti smite him.

THE DOOMED PRINCE ¹

There was once a King ² to whom no man-child was born. His heart was very sad thereat; he asked for a boy from the gods of his time, and they decreed that one should be born to him. He lay with his wife during the night, and she conceived; when the months of the birth were accomplished, lo, a man-child was born. When the Hathors came to decree him a destiny, they said, "He shall die by the crocodile, or by the serpent, or indeed by the dog." When the people who were with the child heard this, they went to tell his Majesty, l. h. s., and his Majesty, l. h. s., was sad at heart thereat. His Majesty, l. h. s., had a stone house built for him on the mountain, furnished with men and all good things of the dwelling of the King, l. h. s., for the child did not go out of it. And when the child was grown, he went up on to the terrace of his house, and he perceived a greyhound who ran behind a man walking on the road. He said to his page who was with him: "What is it that runs behind the man passing along the road?" The page said to him, "It is a greyhound." The child said to him, "Let one be brought to me exactly like it." The page went to repeat this to his Majesty, l. h. s., and his Majesty, l. h. s., said, "Let a young running dog be taken to him, for fear his heart should be saddened." And lo, the greyhound was taken to him.

And after the days had passed in this manner, when the child had acquired age in all his limbs, he sent a message to his father, saying, "Come! why be like the sluggards? Although I am doomed to three grievous destinies, yet I will act according to my will. God will not do less than he has

¹ This and the following tale are from the translations of Sir Gaston Maspero.

² The author does not state explicitly the country to which he refers, but to designate the father of our hero he employs the word *nsut*, the official title of the kings of Egypt. It is therefore in Egypt that all the events occur that are recounted at the beginning of the story.

at heart." One listened to that which he spake, one gave him all kinds of weapons, and also his greyhound to follow him, and transported him to the eastern coast.³ One said to him, "Go where thou desirest." His greyhound was with him; he went therefore as he fancied across the country, living on the best of all the game of the country. Having arrived to fly⁴ to the prince of Naharinna,⁵ behold there was no son born to the prince of Naharinna, only a daughter. Now, he had built a house with seventy windows which were seventy cubits above the ground. He caused all the sons of the princes of the country of Kharu to be brought, and he said to them, "To him who shall reach the window of my daughter, she shall be given him for wife."

Now, many days after these things were accomplished, while the princes of Syria were engaged in their occupation of every day, the prince of Egypt, having come to pass into the place where they were, they conducted the prince to their house, they brought him to the bath, they gave provender to his horses, they did all manner of things for the prince, they perfumed him, they anointed his feet, they gave him of their loaves; they said to him, by way of conversation, "Whence comest thou, goodly youth?" He said to them, "I am the son of a soldier of the chariots of the land of Egypt. My mother died, my father took another wife. When children arrived she hated me, and I fled before her." They pressed him in their arms, they covered him with kisses. Now, after

³ The eastern coast of Syria is compared with Egypt. We find, in fact, that the prince arrives at the country of Naharinna. *Naharinna* is known also as *Naharaina*: marriages of Egyptian princes with Syrian princesses are numerous in real history.

⁴ The word *pui*, employed several times in our text to define the action of princes, really means "to fly, to fly away," and it is solely by error that it has been translated "to climb." Is it possible that the prince of Naharinna imposed a magic test on the suitors? I am disposed to believe this, because further on the son of the king of Egypt "conjured his limbs" before entering into the competition.

⁵ It may be thought strange that this prince, unknowing of the history of the princess of Naharinna, should arrive in the country where she was with the intention of flying to acquire her. But then the Egyptian author merely intended to acquaint his reader beforehand with what was about to happen.

many days had passed in this way, he said to the princes, "What are you doing here?" They said to him, "We pass our time doing this: we fly, and he who shall reach the window of the daughter of the prince of Naharinna, she shall be given him for wife." He said to them, "If it please you, I will conjure my limbs, and I will go and fly with you." They went to fly, as was their occupation of every day, and the prince stood afar off to behold, and the face of the daughter of the prince of Naharinna was turned to him. Now, after the days had passed in this manner, the prince went to fly with the sons of the rulers, and he flew, and he reached the window of the daughter of the chief of Naharinna; she kissed him, and she embraced him in all his limbs.

They went to rejoice the heart of the father of the princess, and said to him, "A man has reached the windows of thy daughter." The prince questioned the messenger, saying, "The son of which of the princes?" They said to him, "The son of a soldier of chariots who comes as a fugitive from the country of Egypt to escape his step-mother when she had children." The prince of Naharinna became very angry; he said, "Shall I give my daughter to a fugitive from the land of Egypt? Let him return there!" They went to say to the prince, "Return to the place from whence thou art come." But the princess seized him, and she swore by God, saying, "By the life of Phra-Harmakhis!⁶ if he is taken from me, I will not eat, I will not drink, I will die immediately." The messenger went to repeat all that she had said to her father, and the prince sent men to slay the young man while he was in her house. The princess said to them, "By the life of Phra! if he is killed, by sundown I shall be dead; I will not spend one hour of life apart from him." They went to tell her father. The prince caused the young man to be brought with the princess. The young man was seized with terror when he came before the prince, but the prince embraced him, he covered him with kisses, he said to

⁶ One would expect to find a Syrian princess swear by Baal or Astarte; the author, not considering the matter closely, twice puts in her mouth the Egyptian form of oath by Phra-Harmakhis and by Phra.

him, "Tell me who thou art, for behold, thou art to me as a son." The young man said, "I am the son of a soldier of chariots of the country of Egypt. My mother died, and my father took another wife. She hated me, and I fled before her." The chief gave him his daughter to wife; he gave him a house, vassals, fields, also cattle, and all manner of good things.

Now, when the days had passed thus, the young man said to his wife, "I am doomed to three destinies — the crocodile, the serpent, the dog." She said to him, "Let the dog be killed that runs before thee." He said to her, "If it please thee, I will not kill my dog that I brought up when it was little." She feared for her husband greatly, greatly, and she did not let him go out alone. Now it happened that one desired to travel; the prince was escorted to the land of Egypt, to wander about the country. Now behold, the crocodile of the river came out of the river, and he came into the midst of the town where the prince was; they shut him up in a dwelling where there was a giant. The giant did not let the crocodile go out, but when the crocodile slept the giant went out for a stroll; then when the sun arose, the giant returned every day, for an interval of two months of days.⁷ And after that the days had passed in this manner, the prince remained to divert himself in his house. When the night came, the prince lay down on his bed, and sleep took possession of his limbs. His wife filled a vase with milk, and placed it by her side. When a serpent came out of its hole to bite the prince, behold, his wife watched over her husband with close attention. Then the maid-servants gave milk to the serpent; it drank of it, it became drunk, it lay on its back, and the wife cut it in pieces with blows of her hatchet. Her husband was awakened, who was seized with astonishment, and she said to him, "Behold, thy god has given one of thy fates into thy hand; he will give thee the others." He

⁷ The giant and the crocodile are two astronomical personages, the emblems of two important constellations which are seen figured, among others, on the roof of the Ramesseum. It seems that the god had sent them down to earth to accomplish the destiny predicted by the seven Hathors.

presented offerings to the god, he adored him, and exalted his power all the days of his life.

And after the days had passed in this manner, the prince came out to walk near his domain, and as he never came out alone, behold, his dog was behind him. His dog started in pursuit of the game, and he ran after the dog. When he reached the river, he went down the bank of the river behind his dog, and the crocodile came out and dragged him to the place where the giant was. He came out and saved the prince; then the crocodile said to the prince, "Lo, I am thy destiny that pursues thee; whatever thou mayest do, thou wilt be brought back on to my path to me, thou and the giant. Now, behold, I am about to let thee go; if the . . . thou wilt know that my enchantments have triumphed, and that the giant is slain; and when thou seest that the giant is slain, thou seest thy death." And when the earth lightened, and the second day was, then came . . .

[The prophecy of the crocodile is so much mutilated that I can not guarantee its exact meaning; we can only guess that the monster set some kind of fatal dilemma before his adversary; or that the prince fulfilled a certain condition, and succeeded in overcoming the crocodile, or that he did not fulfil it, and that "he saw his death." Ebers has restored this episode in a different way. He has supposed that the giant was not able to save the prince, but that the crocodile proposed to him to spare the prince under certain conditions.]

"Thou wilt swear to me to slay the giant; if thou dost refuse this, thou shalt see death." And when the earth lightened, and a second day was, the dog came up and saw that his master was in the power of the crocodile. The crocodile said again, "Wilt thou swear to slay the giant?" The prince replied, "Why should I slay him who has watched over me?" The crocodile said to him, "Then shall thy destiny be accomplished. If, at sundown, thou wilt not make the oath that I demand, thou shalt see thy death." The dog, having heard these words, ran to the house, and found the

daughter of the prince of Naharinna in tears, for her husband had not reappeared since the day before. When she saw the dog alone, without its master, she wept aloud, and she tore her breast; but the dog seized her by her robe, and drew her to the door, as asking her to come out. She arose, she took the hatchet with which she had killed the serpent, and she followed the dog to that part of the shore where the giant was. She then hid herself in the reeds, and she neither drank nor ate; she did nothing but pray the gods for her husband. When evening arrived the crocodile said again, "Wilt thou swear to slay the giant? if not, I will take thee to the shore, and thou shalt see thy death." And he replied, "Why should I slay him who has watched over me?" Then the crocodile took him to the place where the woman was, and she came out of the reeds, and, behold, as the crocodile opened its jaws, she struck it with her hatchet, and the giant threw himself on it and killed it. Then she embraced the prince, and she said to him, "Behold, thy god has given the second of thy fates into thy hands; he will give thee the third." He presented offerings to the god, he adored him, and exalted his might all the days of his life.⁸

And after this enemies entered the country. For the sons of the princes of the country of Kharu, furious at seeing the princess in the hands of an adventurer, had assembled their foot-soldiers and their chariots, they had destroyed the army of the chief of Naharinna, and they had taken him prisoner. When they did not find the princess and her husband, they said to the old chief: "Where is thy daughter and that son of a soldier of chariots from the land of Egypt, to whom thou hast given her as wife?" He answered them: "He is gone with her to hunt the beasts of the country — how should I know where they are?" Then they deliberated, and they said one to another: "Let us divide into small bands, and go hither and thither over the whole world, and he who shall find them let him slay the young man, and let him do as

⁸ From here onward the original manuscript is entirely lost and the restoration is entirely modern, a piece of guesswork built on the style of similar stories.

pleases him with the woman." And they departed, some to the east, and some to the west, to the north, to the south; and those who had gone to the south reached the land of Egypt, at the same time that the young man was with the daughter of the chief of Naharinna. But the giant saw them; he hastened to the young man, and said to him: "Behold, seven sons of the princes of the country of Kharu come to seek thee. If they find thee, they will slay thee, and will do with thy wife as it pleases them. They are too many for thee to resist; flee from them; and for me, I will return to my brothers." Then the prince called his wife, he took his dog with him, and they all hid themselves in a cave of the mountain. They had been there two days and two nights when the sons of the princes of Kharu arrived with many soldiers, and they passed before the mouth of the cave without any of them perceiving the prince; but as the last of them came near, the dog went out against him and began to bark. The sons of the princes of Kharu recognized him, and they came back and went into the cave. The wife threw herself before her husband to protect him, but, behold, a lance struck her, and she fell dead before him. And the young man slew one of the princes with his sword, and the dog killed another with his teeth, but the rest struck them with their lances, and they fell to the ground unconscious. Then the princes dragged the bodies out of the cave, and left them stretched on the ground to be devoured by wild beasts and birds of prey, and they departed to rejoin their companions and divide with them the lands of the chief of Naharinna.

And behold, when the last of the princes had departed, the young man opened his eyes, and he saw his wife stretched on the ground by his side, as dead, and the dead body of his dog. Then he trembled, and he said: "In truth, the gods fulfil immutably that which they have decreed beforehand. The Hathors have decided, from my infancy, that I should perish by the dog, and behold, their sentence has been executed, for it is the dog which has betrayed me to mine enemies. I am ready to die, because, without these two beings, who lie beside me, life is intolerable to me." And he raised

his hands to the sky, and cried: "I have not sinned against you, O ye gods! Therefore grant me a happy burial in this world, and to be true of voice before the judges of Amentit." He sank down as dead, but the gods had heard his voice, the Ennead of the gods came to him, and Re-Harmakhis said to his companions: "The doom is fulfilled; now let us give a new life to these two wedded people, for it is good to reward worthily the devotion which they have shown one to the other." And the mother of the gods approved with her head the words of Re-Harmakhis, and she said: "Such devotion deserves very great reward." The other gods said the same; then the seven Hathors came forward, and they said: "The doom is fulfilled; now they shall return to life." And they returned to life immediately.⁹

⁹In his conclusion, Ebers relates that the prince reveals to the daughter of the chief of Naharinna his real origin, and that he returns to Egypt, where his father receives him with joy. He speedily returns to Naharinna, defeats his murderers, and replaces the old chief on his throne. On his return, he consecrates the booty to Amonra, and passes the remainder of his days in complete happiness.

Nothing could be better conceived than this ending; I do not, however, believe that the ancient Egyptian writer had the compassion for his heroes that is so ingeniously shown by the modern author. Destiny does not allow itself to be set aside in the ancient East, and does not permit its decrees to be evaded. At times it suspends their execution, but never annuls them. If Cambyzes is condemned to die near Ecbatana, it is in vain for him to fly from Ecbatana in Media on the appointed day—he finds in Syria the Ecbatana with which the gods threatened him. When a child is doomed to perish violently in his twentieth year, his father may shut him in a subterranean abode; to that place Sindbad the sailor is led by fate, and by mischance will slay the doomed victim. I do not believe that the hero of this story escaped this law; he triumphed over the crocodile, but the dog, in the ardor of battle, mortally wounded his master, and fulfilled, without intending it, the prediction of the Hathors.

THE TRAVELS OF UNAMUNU

In the year 5, the 16th day of the third month of the Harvest, on that day, Unamunu, the senior member of the hall¹ of the temple of Amonra, king of the gods, lord of Karnak, started to procure wood for the very august bark of Amonra, king of the gods, which is on the Nile, Amanusi-hait.²

The day that I arrived at Tanis, the place where Smendes and Tantamanu were, I placed in their hands the rescripts of Amonra, king of the gods.³ They caused them to be read in their presence, and they said, "Let it be done, let it be done, according to that which Amonra, king of the gods, our master, has said." I remained till the fourth month of the Harvest in Tanis, then Smendes and Tantamanu sent me with the ship's captain, Mangabuti, and I embarked on the great sea of Syria on the first of the fourth month of the Harvest. I arrived at Dora, a city of Zakkala, and Badilu, its prince, caused ten thousand loaves to be brought to me, an amphora of wine, a haunch of beef. A man of my vessel deserted, taking a gold vase five *tabonu* in weight, five silver vases of twenty *tabonu*, and a small bag of silver of eleven *tabonu*, which made a total of five *tabonu* of gold and thirty-one *tabonu* of silver. I arose early in the morning, I went to the place where the King was, I said to him, "I have been

¹ The title *Samsu hai* is best known to us by the representations in the tombs of the Memphite and first Theban Empires, but it continued, at least in the temples, up to the end of the pagan civilization of Egypt. The persons who bear it are seen superintending carpenters' work, and that is perhaps why Unamunu was chosen as the ambassador of the god in the expedition to procure wood. The translation given renders the Egyptian term word for word, but does not give the meaning. I retain it, however, for want of a better.

² This is the official name of the great bark of Amon of Karnak.

³ Amonra was supposed to reign over Thebes, and the high priest was merely the official who executed his commands on earth. Official acts therefore frequently took the form of decrees issued by the god, and this was the case in this instance.

robbed in thy port. Now, it is thou, the prince of this country, who art its inquisitor; seek my gold! Alack, this silver, it belongs to Amonra, king of the gods, lord of the countries, it belongs to Smendes, it belongs to Hrihoru, my lord, and to other nobles of Egypt, it is thine, it belongs to Waradi, it belongs to Makamaru, it belongs to Zikarbal, prince of Byblos."⁴ He said to me, "To thy wrath, and to thy kindness!"⁵ But, behold, I know nothing of this tale that thou tellest me. If the thief is of my country, and has gone down into thy vessel and stolen thy silver, I will repay thee from my treasure, until the thief himself is found; but if the thief who has robbed thee is thine, and if he belongs to thy vessel, remain several days near me, that I may seek for him."

I was nine days ashore in this port, then I went to him, and I said to him, "So! thou findest not my silver. I will go, as well as the ship's captain, with those who go to the port of Tyre. If thou findest my money, keep it by thee, and when I return to Egypt I will stop here and take it." He consented to this, and on the 20th of the fourth month of the Harvest, I embarked again on the great sea of Syria. I arrived at the port of Tyre, I told my story to the prince of Tyre and I complained of the prince of Dora who had not found the thieves and who had not returned me my money, but the prince of Tyre was a friend of him of Dora. He said to me, "Be silent, or misfortune will happen to thee." I departed from Tyre with the morning, and I went down on the great sea of Syria to go to the place where was Zikarbal, prince of Byblos. Now there were some Zakkala with a

⁴ The meaning of this long enumeration appears to be: the stolen money was the property both of those who had entrusted it to Unamunu, Hrihoru, and Amon of whom Hrihoru was high priest, Smendes, Tantamanu, and the other Egyptian princes; and also of the foreigners for whom it was intended, whether as a gift, or as a price for the required wood. One of these latter, Zikarbal, is the prince of Byblos whom we shall meet with later; we know nothing of the other two, Waradi and Makamaru.

⁵ This is a polite form of address, both Syrian and Egyptian: "I submit beforehand to thy wrath or to thy kindness, according as my explanations please or displease thee."

coffer on the vessel; I opened the coffer, I found the silver in it, thirty *tabonu*, I took possession of them. I said to them, "Behold, I take your silver and it will remain with me until you have found my own money. If you say, 'We do not know him who has stolen it, we have not taken it,' I shall take it nevertheless." When they saw that I was decided, they went away, and I arrived at the port of Byblos. I disembarked, I took the *naos* which contained the statue of Amon, god of the Road.⁶ I placed inside it the equipment of the god. The prince of Byblos caused to be said to me, "Depart from my port." I sent to him, saying, "Why dost thou drive me away? Have the Zakkala told thee that I have taken their money? But, behold, the money that they had was my own money, which was stolen from me while I was in the port of Dora. Now behold, I am the messenger of Amon, whom Hrihoru, my lord, has sent to thee to procure the necessary wood for the bark of Amon, and the vessel that Smendes and Tantamanu gave me has already returned. If thou desirest that I depart from thy port, give an order to one of the captains of thy vessels that, when one goes to sea, I may be taken to Egypt." I passed nineteen days in his port, and he spent the time in sending every day to say to me, "Depart from my port."⁷

Now, as he sacrificed to his gods, the god seized one of the chief pages from among the pages, and caused him to fall into convulsions.⁸ He said: "Bring the god into the light!

⁶ This is the image that Hrihoru had given to Unamunu to protect him on his expedition. It is an actual ambassador of Amon to the foreign princes and gods.

⁷ The restorations that I have inserted in this paragraph give only a very summary account of the events that occurred between Dora and Byblos. The original text must have contained two or three episodes which I have not mentioned, but to which allusion is made later on: the departure of the vessel that had brought Unamunu from Egypt, the introduction of the image "Amon of the Road," and the reasons for which the prince of Byblos refused to receive Unamunu.

⁸ This is a scene of prophetic mania of the sort that occurred among the Israelites. The page, seized by the god, falls into a kind of epileptic ecstasy, during which he feels the presence of the image "Amon of the Road"; he gives the prince a command from above which obliges him to receive Unamunu, and to do what he requests. Frazer refuses to be-

Bring the messenger of Amon who is with him! Send him away, cause him to depart." While the convulsed man was in convulsions, that night, I had found a vessel destined for Egypt, I had placed all that was mine upon it, and I regarded the darkness, saying: "Let it descend, that I may embark the god so that no eye beholds him except mine own," when the commandant of the port came to me. He said to me: "Stay till to-morrow, by desire of the prince." I said to him: "Art thou not he who spent the time in coming to me every day saying, 'Depart from my port'? And dost thou not say to me now, 'Remain here,' so that the vessel that I have found may depart, after which thou wilt come to me and wilt say again, 'Depart quickly'?" He turned his back, he went, he told this to the prince, and the prince sent to tell the captain of the vessel, "Stay till to-morrow morning, by desire of the prince." When it was morning, he sent to have me brought up, while the sacrifice was taking place, into the castle where he dwells on the sea-coast. I found him seated in his upper chamber, his back leaning against the balcony, while the waves of the great Syrian sea beat behind him. I said to him, "By the favor of Amon!" He said to me, "How long is it up to to-day since you left the place where Amon is?" I replied, "Five months and a day up to to-day." He said to me, "Come, be true. Where are the rescripts of Amon that should be in thy hands? Where is the letter of that high-priest of Amon which should be in thy hand?" I said to him, "I gave them to Smendes and Tantamanu." He became very angry, he said to me, "Then there are no longer rescripts nor letters in thy hands? And where is that vessel of acacia-wood that Smendes gave thee? Where is thy crew of Syrians? Did he not hand thee over to this ship's captain, at the time of departure, to slay thee and throw thee into the sea? If this is so, who will seek for the god? and thou also, who will seek for thee?"⁹ Thus

lieve with Wiedemann that the god by whom he is possessed is Amon; he thinks rather that it is Adonis, because Adonis is the city-god, and the privilege of possession over one of the officials of the country belonged rather to him than to a foreign god.

⁹ The prince of Byblos, learning that Unamunu had not the letters

he spake to me. I said to him, "Was it not an Egyptian vessel, and was it not an Egyptian crew, which sailed by order of Smendes? For there are not with him any Syrian crews." He said to me, "Are there not twenty vessels lying in my port in communication with Smendes? And that Sidon, that other town thou wishest to reach, are there not there ten thousand other vessels which are in communication with Warakatilu,¹⁰ and which sail to his house?"¹¹

I was silent at this serious moment. He resumed; he said to me, "What commission art thou come here to fulfil?" I said to him, "I am come for the woodwork of the very august bark of Amonra, king of the gods. That which thy father did, that which the father of thy father did, do thou likewise." Thus I spake to him. He said to me, "That which they did, and thou givest me to do, I will do it. Formerly my ancestors fulfilled this commission because Pharaoh, l. h. s., caused six vessels, filled with the merchandise of Egypt, to be brought, which were unloaded into their warehouses. Thou, therefore, cause them to be brought to me likewise." He had the records of his fathers brought and read in my presence and he found that in all a thousand

of credence with him that he should have had, says openly that he suspects him of being an adventurer. Hrihoru and Smendes may have sent him with an order to the captain to throw him overboard at sea. In that case he might be treated without pity; for if any misfortune happened to him and to his statue of "Amon of the Road," who would trouble themselves as to his fate? Further on it will be seen that Unamunu insists on the fact that if he should disappear, he would be sought for to the end of time to avenge his death. It is to some speech of this kind, now lost with the missing portions of the text, that the prince of Byblos replies here.

¹⁰ Warakatilu is a dialectic form of a name which would be in Hebrew Berkatel or Berekotel.

¹¹ Unamunu, as a reply to the suspicions of Zikarbal, reminds him that he duly arrived in an Egyptian vessel manned with an Egyptian and not a Syrian crew. By this he means to infer that the Egyptian princes would not commission Syrians to make away with an Egyptian. Zikarbal does not hesitate to silence him and remind him that most of the vessels employed in the Egyptian coasting trade were Syrian vessels, and in consequence would not scruple to execute any orders with regard to an Egyptian that the princes of Egypt might give them.

tabonu of silver ¹² was inscribed on his register. He said to me, "If the sovereign of Egypt were my lord, and I were his servant, he would not have to cause silver and gold to be brought, saying, 'Fulfil the commission of Amon.' It was not a royal order that was brought to my father. Now I, in faith, I myself am not thy servant; I am not, I myself, the servant of him who sent thee. I cry with a loud voice to the trees of Lebanon, and the heaven opens, and the wood lies stretched on the ground by the sea-coast;¹³ but let the sails be shown me that thou bringest to take thy boats laden with thy wood to Egypt. Let the cords be shown me that thou bringest to bind the beams that I will cut for thee as gifts. If I do not make the cords for thee, if I do not make the sails of thy vessels, the fashionings of the bows and stern are heavy, they will be broken,¹⁴ and thou wilt die in the midst of the sea;¹⁵ for Amon thunders, and he unchains Sutekhu in his time. Now, Amon watches over all countries. Above all, he rules the land of Egypt, whence thou comest, and per-

¹² The ancient value reckoned in modern values represents 92 kilograms of silver.

¹³ It appears that we should regard this part of the sentence as an emphatic expression of the confidence placed by the prince of Byblos in his own powers. He is no servant of Egypt, and in consequence he is not a servant of Amon, and Amon has no power over the territory occupied by him. If he calls to the cedars of Lebanon to come to the sea, the heaven opens, and the trees, uprooted by the god of the country, fall of themselves on to the sea-shore.

¹⁴ The Egyptian sea-going vessels had two points that curved inward, one at the prow and one at the stern. These were raised above the water, and were generally adorned with the heads of divinities, men, or animals. These two extremities were supported by cords which, attached to the prow, passed over spars fixed along the axis of the bridge and were fastened to the poop at the height of the rudder. The force of the wind and waves greatly strained these outlying portions, and continually threatened to carry them off; should they succeed in doing so the vessel would inevitably founder.

¹⁵ After having said to Unamunu that he was independent of him and of Amon, Zikarbal wished to show that he could do more for Unamunu than Unamunu could do for him. He demands of Unamunu to show him the sails and cordage of the vessels that are to carry the wood, and he finds them insufficient; if he, Zikarbal, does not give him stronger ones, the vessels of Unamunu will not be able to withstand storms and will founder at sea.

fection issues thence to reach the country where I am. What are then these mad journeys they have caused thee to take?" ¹⁶

I said to him, "A lie! There are no mad journeys for those to whom I belong. There are no vessels on the Nile which do not belong to Amon; the sea is his, and the trees of Lebanon are his, of which thou sayest, 'They are mine,' but which are the property of the bark Amanusihait, queen of barks. Alack! Amonra, king of the gods, spake, saying to Hrihoru, my lord, 'Send me.' ¹⁷ And he sent me with this great god. Now behold, thou hast caused this great god to dwell for twenty-nine days since he arrived at thy port, without knowing whether he was there or not; and is it not he who is there, whilst thou dost bargain about the cedars of Lebanon with Amon, their owner? And when thou sayest, 'The kings of former times sent silver and gold,' in truth, if they had sent life and health, they would not have sent material presents; but they sent material presents, instead of life and health, to thy fathers. But Amonra, king of the gods, it is he who is lord of life and health, it is he who was the lord of thy fathers, and they passed their lifetime in sacrificing to Amon. Thou thyself, thou art a good follower of Amon. If thou sayest, 'I will do it, I will do it,' to Amon, and thou dost execute his order, thou wilt live, thou wilt be safe, thou wilt be in health, thou wilt be a blessing to the whole of thy country and to thy people. But covet not the things of Amonra, king of the gods, for the lion loves his

¹⁶ The connection between the end of this speech and the beginning of the next one is not evident at first sight. The transition occurs after the passage where Zikarbal points out the danger of death that threatens Unamunu during his return. "For Amon, if he watches over all countries, watches principally over Egypt, and he has given more wisdom to it than to other nations. How does it happen that the sovereign of so wise a country commanded such a foolish journey for Unamunu as that which had brought him to Byblos?"

¹⁷ *I.e.*, Send a statue of Amon with Unamunu, which would contain some of the power of Amon, and would be the divine ambassador by the side of the human ambassador. It is the statue of "Amon of the Road" which is referred to immediately afterward, when Unamunu says, "Hrihoru sent me with this great god."

own.¹⁸ And now, cause my scribe to come to me, that I may send him to Smendes and Tantamanu, the protectors whom Amon has placed in the north of his country, that they may cause to be brought all of which I say, 'Let it be brought,' before I return to the south and dispatch thy miserable remnants, all, all." Thus I spake to him. I gave my letter to his messenger; he placed on a vessel the bridge, the head of the bows, the head of the stern,¹⁹ and four other beams shaped with a hatchet, seven pieces in all, and he sent them to Egypt.

His messenger went to Egypt, and he returned to me in Syria in the first month of winter. Smendes and Tantamanu sent four jugs and a basin of gold, five jugs of silver, ten pieces of royal linen for ten cloaks, five hundred rolls of fine papyrus, five hundred ox-hides, five hundred cords, twenty sacks of lentils, and thirty bales of dried fish; and Tantamanu sent me five pieces of royal linen for five cloaks, a sack of lentils, five bales of dried fish. The prince rejoiced, he levied three hundred men and three hundred oxen, he put officers at their head to cut down the trees; they felled them, and the trees lay on the ground all the winter; then in the third month of the Harvest they were brought to the sea-coast. The prince came out, he stood near them, he said to me, "Come." As I came near him, the shadow of his umbrella²⁰ fell on me, and Penamanu, one of the familiar friends who were with him, placed himself between the prince and me, saying, "The shadow of Pharaoh, i. h. s., thy master, falls on thee."²¹ But the prince was angry with him, and

¹⁸ In other words, "Give the wood to Amon gratuitously and do not ask him to pay thee; for Amon is a lion, and the lion likes not to be deprived of his prey." The sentence is probably a well-known proverb.

¹⁹ The bark of Amon had rams' heads at the prow and stern; it is the baulks of wood intended for these two heads that Zikarbal sends as a preliminary present, to arouse the generosity of Hrihoru and Smendes.

²⁰ This is an umbrella similar to that one seen figured in Assyrian bas-reliefs, and which is held above the head of the king by a eunuch or an officer standing behind him.

²¹ The meaning of this remark, which was clear to an Egyptian, is not clear to us. I think it is founded on the idea, prevalent in the East, that every person on whom the shadow of a powerful being falls, whether of a god, a genius, or a king, is under the protection and also

said to him, "Let be!" I went up to him, and he spake to me, saying, "Lo, the commission that my father executed of old, I have executed myself also, even though thou hast not done for me what thy fathers did. Now do thou behold! Thy wood has arrived to the last piece, and it is there; do now according to thy heart and come to lade it, for is it not to thee that it is given? Nevertheless do not come to contemplate the terrors of the sea, or if thou dost contemplate the terrors of the sea, contemplate also mine own."²² Alas! I have not had done to thee that which was done to the envoys of Khamois, who dwelt seventeen years in this country and died here." He said to his intimate, "Take him to see their tomb in which they are laid." I said, "Do not cause me to see it. Khamois, the men he sent as ambassadors were only people of his household; there was not a god as one of his ambassadors. Notwithstanding thou sayest to me 'Hasten, see thy peers.'²³ Why dost thou not rather rejoice, and cause a *stela* to be erected on which thou shalt say, 'Amonra, King of the gods, sent Amon of the Road to me as his divine ambassador, with Unamunu as his human ambassador, for wood for the very august bark of Amonra, King of the gods. I felled it, I loaded it, I supplied my vessels and my crews and I sent it to Egypt, to obtain ten thousand years of life from Amon more than those ordained for me: May it be

under the authority of that being. Penamanu, seeing the shadow of the umbrella of the prince of Byblos fall on Unamunu, said to him jeeringly that "the shadow of his Pharaoh falls on him"—that is, in other words, that henceforth his Pharaoh and his master will be no other than the prince of Byblos, whose shadow falls on him."

²² I think this passage must be taken thus: After having handed over the wood to Unamunu, the prince of Byblos, who had not yet forgiven the inadequate nature of the gifts he had received, adds, "And now depart quickly, even if the weather is bad; and if thou dost allow thyself to consider the rage of the sea when thou art starting, think that my wrath may be still worse than that of the sea, and that thou mayest run the risk of meeting with the same fate as the envoys of Khamois, whom I kept prisoners here till their death."

²³ Unamunu here develops the theme already indicated above, that his embassy is not an ordinary one, but that it includes a god "Amon of the Road." He complains therefore that the prince should think of comparing him with the merely human envoys of Khamois, and representing them as on the same footing with himself.

thus!' When, after other times, a messenger shall come from the land of Egypt who shall understand the writing, when he reads thy name on thy *stela*, thou shalt receive the water of Amentit, like the gods who dwell there."²⁴ He said, "That which thou hast said is a great theme for discourse." I said to him, "The many words thou hast said to me, when I shall have arrived at the place where the chief prophet of Amon is, and when he shall have seen how thou hast executed his commission, he will cause gifts to be brought thee."

I went to the sea-shore where the wood lay, and I perceived eleven vessels that had come in from the sea, and that belonged to the Zakkala with this mission, "Let him be imprisoned, and let there be no boat of his that goes to the land of Egypt." I sat down, I wept. The secretary of the prince came; he said to me, "What is the matter?" I said to him, "Dost thou not see the herons that go down to Egypt? Behold then, they return to fresh waters; but alas! how long shall I remain abandoned? For seest thou not yonder those who come to imprison me again?" He went, he spake to the prince; the prince wept because of the woeful words that were spoken to him. He sent his secretary, who brought me two amphoræ of wine and a sheep, and he caused Tantanuit, a girl-singer of Egypt who was with him, to be brought to me, saying, "Sing to him, that his heart may make pleasant fancies." And he sent to me, saying, "Eat, drink, that thy heart may not make fancies. Thou shalt hear all that I have to say to-morrow morning." When it was morning, he sent for his people to the mooring-place; he stood in the midst of them, and he said to the Zakkala, "What is your manner of coming?" They said to him, "We are come in pursuit of those broken vessels that thou art sending to Egypt with thy accursed comrades." He said to them, "I can not hold the messenger of Amon captive in my country. Let me send him off, and then hasten after him to take him prisoner."

He let me embark, he sent me off; I left the seaport, and

²⁴ As a recompense for the service rendered by the prince, his "double" shall have the libations of fresh water that the blessed enjoy in Hades.

the wind drove me on to Alasia.²⁵ They of the city came out against me to kill me, and I was dragged in the midst of them to the place where was Hatibi, the princess of the city. I found her coming out of one of her dwellings and entering another. I implored her, saying to the people standing near her, "Is there not one among you who understands the language of Egypt?" One of them said, "I understand it." I said to him, "Say to the Lady, 'I have heard it said even in the city of Thebes and in the place where Amon is, 'If injustice is done in every city, justice is done in the country of Alasia,' yet behold injustice is done here every day.'" She said, "Alas! what is it thou sayest?" I said to her, "Now that the sea has become furious, and the wind has thrown me on the land where thou art, dost thou not permit me to be brought before thee to be slain? Now I am a messenger of Amon. Verily, behold, I shall be sought for to the end of time. And as to this crew of the prince of Byblos which they seek to slay, if their lord finds afterward ten of thy crews, will he not slay them as a reprisal?" She caused her people to be assembled; they were arrested, and she said to me, "Go rest. . . ."

²⁵ Alasia is probably on the island of Cyprus.

THE AGE OF WEAKNESS

(525 B.C.—A.D.)

THE BOOK OF THE BREATHS OF LIFE

*“Conceal it! Conceal it!
Let it not be read by any one.”*

— BOOK OF BREATHS.

THE BOOK OF THE BREATHS OF LIFE

(INTRODUCTION)

“**T**HE final stages of the Egyptian religion are marked by a renewed popularity of all its more barbarous elements. Despairing, as it would seem, of discovering the higher wisdom that the more philosophic of the priests supposed that religion to conceal, the simpler-minded sought to work out their own salvation by restoring the worship of the gods to its most primitive forms.” It is thus that Mr. A. H. Gardiner sums up the peculiar status of religion in the later Egyptian days. Egypt had become a priestly State. The Pharaohs were but the servants of the priesthood; and the latter maintained their hold upon the minds of the populace by countenancing a religious ceremonial of pompous formulæ in which the thinking classes had little remaining belief.

Among the priests themselves there was much speculation as to the future, and their thought found expression in various books, of which the *Breaths of Life* is the most impressive. This little book seems to have largely usurped, among the priesthood, the rank of the older *Book of the Dead*. That is to say, it was buried with each priest, though with emphatic warning that it must be kept secret. Its hope and value for the life beyond were not to be shared with other people. How far the entire priesthood were committed to the doctrines of this book we do not know; but amid their “mysteries” it is quite possible that the doctrine of transmigration, which this work suggests, held a considerable rank. Certainly their ideas of the future had no longer the simple animalism of the earlier stages. The speculations of ancient Egypt carry us far into the realm of modern philosophy.

THE BOOK OF THE BREATHS OF LIFE

I

Commencement of the Book of Respirations
made by Isis for her brother Osiris,
to give life to his soul,
to give life to his body,
to rejuvenate all his members anew;
that he may reach the horizon with his father, the Sun;
that his soul may rise to Heaven in the disk of the Moon;
that his body may shine in the stars of Orion on the bosom
of Nut;¹
in order that this may also happen
to the Osiris, divine Father, Prophet of Amon-Re, King of
the gods,
Prophet of Khem, of Amon-Re, bull of his mother,
in his great abode,
Asar-aau, justified,
Son of the Prophet of the same order, Nes-paut-ta-ti, justified,
Conceal it! conceal it!
Let it not be read by any one.
It is profitable to the person who is in the divine Netherworld.
He liveth in reality millions of times anew.

II

Words spoken:

Hail to the Osiris N! . . .² thou art pure;
thy heart is pure,
thy fore-part is purified,
thy hind-part is cleansed,
thy middle is in *Bat* ³ and natron.
No member in thee is faulty.

¹ Nut personified the Upper Hemisphere of Heaven.

² Here was written the name of the deceased.

³ Probably a substance used for purifying and perfuming.

The Osiris N is made pure by the lotions
from the Fields of Peace, at the North of the Fields of Sane-
hem-u.⁴

The goddesses Uati and Suben have purified thee
at the eighth hour of the night
and at the eighth hour of the day.

Come Osiris N!

Thou dost enter the Hall of the Two Goddesses of Truth.

Thou art purified of all sin, of all crime.

Stone of Truth is thy name.

III

Hail to the Osiris N!

Thou, being very pure, dost enter the Lower Heaven.

The Two Goddesses of Justice have purified thee in the Great
Hall.

A purification hath been made to thee in the Hall of Seb.

Thy members have been purified in the Hall of Shu.⁵

Thou seest Re in his setting,

as Atum⁶ in the evening.

Amon is near to thee, to give thee breath,

Ptah, to form thy members.

Thou dost enter the horizon with the Sun.

Thy soul is received in the bark Neshem⁷ with Osiris.

Thy soul is divinized in the Hall of Seb.

Thou art justified forever and ever.

IV

Hail to the Osiris N!

Thine individuality is permanent.

Thy body is durable.

Thy mummy doth germinate.

Thou art not repulsed from heaven, neither from earth.

Thy face is illuminated near the Sun.

Thy soul liveth near to Amon.

⁴ The earth.

⁵ Heaven.

⁶ The setting sun.

⁷ The solar bark.

Thy body is rejuvenated near to Osiris.
Thou dost breathe forever and ever.

v

Thy soul maketh thee offerings, each day,
of bread, of drinks, of oxen, of geese, of fresh water, of condiments.

Thou comest to justify it.

Thy flesh is on thy bones,
like unto thy form on earth.

Thou dost imbibe into thy body.

Thou eatest with thy mouth.

Thou receivest bread, with the souls of the gods.

Anubis doth guard thee.

He is thy protection.

Thou art not repulsed from the gates of the Lower Heaven.

Thoth, the doubly great, the Lord of Sesennu, cometh to thee.

He writeth for thee the Book of Breaths, with his own fingers.

Thy soul doth breathe forever and ever.

Thou dost renew thy form on earth, among the living.

Thou art divinized with the souls of the gods.

Thy heart is the heart of Re.

Thy members are the members of the great god.^s

Thou livest forever and ever.

vi

Hail to the Osiris N!

Amon is with thee each day

to render thee life.

Apheru openeth to thee the right way.

Thou seest with thine eyes;

thou hearest with thine ears;

thou speakest with thy mouth;

thou walkest with thy legs.

Thy soul is divinized in Heaven,

to make all the transformations it desireth.

^s Osiris.



THOTH, THE IBIS-HEADED GOD OF BOOKS, OF WRITING AND OF ALL
SCIENCE. THE CHIEF FRIEND OF MAN AFTER DEATH

Thou makest the joy of the sacred Persea in An.
 Thou awakenest each day.
 Thou seest the rays of Re.
 Amon cometh to thee with the breath of life.
 He granteth to thee to breathe in thy coffin.
 Thou comest on earth each day,
 the Book of Breaths of Thoth being thy protection.
 Thou breathest by it each day.
 Thine eyes behold the rays of the disk.
 Truth is spoken to thee before Osiris.
 The formulæ of justification are on thy body.
 Horus, the defender of his father, protecteth thy body.
 He divinizeth thy soul as well as those of all the gods.
 The soul of Re giveth life to thy soul.
 The soul of Shu filleth thy respiratory organs with soft
 breath.⁹

VII

Hail to the Osiris N!

Thy soul doth breathe in the place thou lovest.
 Thou art in the dwelling of Osiris, who resideth in the West.
 Thy person is most pure.
 Thou dost arrive in Abydos.
 He (Osiris) filleth thy dwelling Hotep with provisions.

VIII

Hail to the Osiris N!

The gods of all Egypt come to thee.
 Thou art guided toward the end of centuries.
 Thy soul liveth.
 Thou dost follow Osiris.
 Thou breathest in Rusta.
 Secret care is taken of thee by the Lord of Sati
 and by the great god.
 Thy body liveth in Tattu and in Nifur.
 Thy soul liveth in Heaven forever.

⁹ Another version: "uniteth itself to the breath of thy nostrils."

IX

Hail to the Osiris N!

Sechet prevaieth against what is injurious to thee.
 Har-aa-hetu taketh care of thee.
 Har-shet doth form thy heart.
 Har-maa doth guard thy body.
 Thou continuest in life, health, and strength.
 Thou art established upon thy throne in Ta-ser.
 Come, Osiris N!
 Thou appearest in thy form.
 Strengthened by thine ornaments ¹⁰
 thou art prepared for life.
 Thou remainest in a healthful state;
 thou walkest, thou breathest everywhere.¹¹
 The Sun doth rise upon thine abode.
 Like unto Osiris, thou breathest, thou livest by his rays.
 Amon-Re giveth life to thee.
 He doth enlighten thee by the Book of Breaths.
 Thou dost follow Osiris and Horus, Lord of the sacred bark.
 Thou art as the greatest of the gods among the gods.
 Thy beautiful face liveth in thy children.
 Thy name doth always prosper.
 Come to the great temple in Tattu.
 Thou wilt see him who resideth in the West,
 in the *Ka*-festival.
 Delicious is thy perfume as that of the blessed;
 great thy name among the elect.

X

Hail to the Osiris N!

Thy soul liveth by the Book of Breaths.
 Thou unitest thyself to the Book of Breaths.
 Thou dost enter the Lower Heaven;

¹⁰ Those of the mummy.

¹¹ This is the acknowledgment of the resurrection effected by the ceremonies of the mummification. I am indebted to the friendly aid of M. Chabas for the translation of this and one or two other passages.

thine enemies are not there.
Thou art a divine soul in Tattu.
Thy heart is thine;
it is no longer separated from thee.
Thine eyes are thine;
they open each day.

XI

Words spoken by the gods who accompany Osiris, to the
Osiris N:

Thou dost follow Re.

Thou dost follow Osiris.

Thy soul liveth forever and ever.

Words spoken by the gods who dwell in the Lower Heaven,
like Osiris of the West, to the Osiris N:

Let them open to him at the gates of the Lower Heaven.

He is received in the divine Netherworld,
that his soul may live forever.

He buildeth a dwelling in the divine Netherworld.

He is rewarded.

He hath received the Book of Breaths,
that he may breathe.

XII

Royal offering to Osiris who resideth in the West,
great god, Lord of Abydos,

that he may give offerings

of bread, of *hak*, of oxen, of geese, of wine, of the liquor
aket, of bread *Hotep*,

of good provisions of all kinds,
to the Osiris N.

Thy soul liveth.

Thy body doth germinate,

by order of Re himself,

without pain, without injury,

like unto Re forever and ever.

XIII

- O Strider, coming out of An,¹²
 the Osiris N hath not committed any sin.
 O Mighty of the Moment, coming out of Kerau.
 the Osiris N hath not done any evil.
 O Nostril, coming out of Sesennu,¹³
 the Osiris N hath not been exacting.
 O Devourer of the Eye, coming out of Kerti,
 the Osiris N hath not obtained anything by theft.
 O Impure of visage, coming out of Rusta,
 the Osiris N hath not been angry.
 O Lion-gods, coming forth from heaven,
 the Osiris N hath not committed any sin by reason
 of hardness of heart,
 O Fiery-Eyed, coming out of Sechem,
 the Osiris N hath not been weak.

XIV

O ye gods who dwell in the Lower Heaven,
 harken unto the voice of Osiris N.
 He is near unto you.
 There is no fault in him.
 No informer riseth up against him.
 He liveth in the truth.
 He doth nourish himself with truth.
 The gods are satisfied with all that he hath done.
 He hath given food to the hungry,
 drink to the thirsty,
 clothes to the naked.
 He hath given the sacred food to the gods,
 The funeral repasts to the pure Spirits.
 No complaint hath been made against him before any of the
 gods.
 Let him enter then into the Lower Heaven
 without being repulsed.
 Let him follow Osiris, with the gods of Kerti.

¹² Heliopolis.¹³ Hermopolis.

He is favored among the faithful,¹⁴
and divinized among the perfected.
Let him live!
Let his soul live!
His soul is received wherever it willeth.
He hath received the Book of Breaths,
that he may breathe with his soul,
with that of the Lower Heaven,
and that he may make any transformation at his will,
like the inhabitants of the West;¹⁵
that his soul may go wherever it desireth,
living on the earth forever and ever.

XV

He is towed, like Osiris, into the Great Pool of Khons.
When he has retaken possession of his heart
the Book of Breaths is concealed in the coffin.
It is covered with writing upon Suten,
both inside and outside, and
placed underneath his left arm,
evenly with his heart; . . .

When the Book has been made for him
then he breathes with the souls of the gods forever and ever.

It is finished.

¹⁴ Another version: "the living."

¹⁵ Literally, "the Westerners."

THE AGE OF WEAKNESS

(525 B.C.—A.D.)

ROMANCES

"The two formulas that are written there, if thou recitest the first thou shalt charm the heavens, the earth, the world of the night, the mountains, the waters; thou shalt understand that which the birds of the heaven and the reptiles say, as many as they are."

—PRINCE SATNI AND THE MAGIC BOOK.

ROMANCES OF THE AGE OF WEAKNESS

(INTRODUCTION)

IN turning to these romances of the final period of Ancient Egypt, we would ask the reader to note especially the opening tale, "The Princess Possessed by a Demon." It has an historical interest exceeding its value as romance. It is our first proved literary forgery. The priests of this late period, wishing to do honor to their god, revived an old legend, which may well have been founded on fact, and wrote the tale down on papyrus. This would have been a natural and honest thing to do. But the priests went a step further. To make their tale more convincing, perhaps with some practical business end in view, they tried to make the papyrus look like an old record contemporary with the event it described. So they employed archaic words, inserted the names of ancient personages, and, in general, tried to forge an antique document.

It is an impressive comment upon the progress of our modern Egyptology that our scientists were easily able to detect this deceit. In other words, they know more of the Egyptian Great Empire of 1300 B.C. than was known to the Egyptians themselves in 300 B.C. These later Egyptian priests wrote the old kings' names wrongly, knew little of the old events, and, in short, blundered at every step. Their forgery may have deceived their own age; it only misled our scientists into momentarily rejecting the tale as altogether false.

Recent discoveries have shown that there was a real truth dimly behind the legend. Egyptian gods were, in the great days of Ramses II., sometimes sent abroad to bring health to foreign rulers. One was probably sent to a distant Hittite princess — perhaps for the "Bekhten" of the tale we may

read "Bactria"—whose sister was wedded to Ramses. Hence, there is really a backing for the tale, though the whole has been shifted so as to lay emphasis chiefly on the latter part, the mystic power of the god Khonses and his demand that he shall be returned to Egypt.

The story of Satni and the Magic Book, while of late date, was of a general type which seems to have been very popular in Egypt. It revels in magic and demonology and in the supernatural of every sort. The Egyptian religious faith, at least among the masses, had sunk into gross superstition.

ROMANCES OF THE AGE OF WEAKNESS

THE PRINCESS POSSESSED BY A DEMON.¹

Lo, his Majesty was in Naharin according to his yearly custom, while the chiefs of every country came bowing down in peace because of the fame of his Majesty. From the marshes² was their tribute; silver, gold, lapis lazuli, malachite, and every sweet wood of God's-Land were upon their backs, each one leading his neighbor.

Then the chief of Bekhten caused his tribute to be brought, and he placed his eldest daughter in front thereof, praising his Majesty, and craving life from him. Now, she was exceedingly beautiful to the heart of his Majesty, beyond everything. Then they affixed her titular³ as, "Great King's-Wife, Nefrure." When his Majesty arrived in Egypt, she fulfilled all the functions of king's-wife.

When the year 23, the tenth month, the twenty-second day, came, while his Majesty was in Thebes, the victorious, the mistress of cities, performing the pleasing ceremonies of his father, Amon-Re, lord of Thebes, at his beautiful feast of Southern Opet Luxor, his favorite seat, of the beginning of the world, came one to say to his Majesty: "A messenger of the chief of Bekhten has come, bearing many gifts for the King's-Wife." Then he was brought before his Majesty, together with his gifts. He said, praising his Majesty: "Praise to thee, Sun of the Nine Bows! Give us life from thee." So spake he, smelling the earth before his Majesty. He spake again before his Majesty: "I come to thee, O King, my lord, on account of Bentresh, thy great⁴ sister of

¹ This is the most recent translation, being from Prof. Breasted's "Ancient Records: Egypt."

² At the northern limits of the earth.

³ To all seals and documents; that is, she takes an official Egyptian name on becoming queen.

⁴ Possibly to be rendered "oldest."

the King's-Wife, Nefrure. Sickness has penetrated into ⁵ her limbs. May thy Majesty send a wise man to see her."

Then said his Majesty: "Bring to me the sacred scribes and the officials of the court." They were led to him immediately. Said his Majesty: "Let one read to you, till ye hear this thing. Then bring me one experienced in his heart, who can write with his fingers, from your midst." The King's scribe, Thutemhab,⁶ came before his Majesty, and his Majesty commanded that he go to Bekhten together with this messenger.

The wise man arrived in Bekhten; he found Bentresh in the condition of one possessed of a spirit. He found her unable to contend with him.

The chief of Bekhten repeated in the presence of his Majesty,⁷ saying: "O King, my lord, let his Majesty command to have this god brought . . ." Then the wise man whom his Majesty had sent, returned to his Majesty in the year 26, the ninth month, at the feast of Amon,⁸ while his Majesty was in Thebes.

Then his Majesty repeated it before Khonsu-in-Thebes-Beautiful-Rest, saying: "O my good lord, I repeat before thee concerning the daughter of the chief of Bekhten."⁹

⁵ Literally, "has mingled with."

⁶ A man of this name and of the same office lived in the time of Ramses II., and his *stela* is in Leyden.

⁷ This alone would indicate that the chief of Bekhten, finding the wise man unable to cast out the spirit, went himself to Egypt to ask that the god be sent to do so. The loss between the two parts of the *stela*, just below this point, makes it difficult to trace the connection, but it seems more probable that the words of the chief of Bekhten are a message, sent by the returning wise man to Ramses, for it is clear that he received some message at the beginning of line 13; and, further, the chief of Bekhten is found in Bekhten by the god on his arrival there. The chief, therefore, certainly remained in Bekhten.

⁸ As the god later consumes one year and five months in going to Bekhten, the round trip between Egypt and Bekhten should take some thirty-four months. This exactly suits the above passage, according to which the returning wise man has been absent nearly three years, which allows for a short stay in Bekhten.

⁹ Two gods, both named Khonsu, had temples in Thebes. This bringing of the one Khonsu to consult with the other, the supposed miracle of one's bowing assent, and all the rest, all fits in with the debased

Then they led Khonsu-in-Thebes-Beautiful-Rest to Khonsu-the-Plan-Maker, the great god, smiting the evil spirits. Then said his Majesty before Khonsu-in-Thebes-Beautiful-Rest: "O thou good lord, if thou inclinest thy face to Khonsu-the-Plan-Maker, the great god, smiting the evil spirits, he shall be conveyed to Bekhten." There was violent nodding. Then said his Majesty: "Send thy protection with him, that I may cause his Majesty to go to Bekhten, to save the daughter of the chief of Bekhten." Khonsu-in-Thebes-Beautiful-Rest nodded the head violently. Then he wrought the protection of Khonsu-the-Plan-Maker-in-Thebes four times.

His Majesty commanded to cause Khonsu-the-Plan-Maker-in-Thebes to proceed to a great ship, five transports, numerous chariots and horses of the east and west.

This god arrived in Bekhten in a full year and five months. Then the chief of Bekhten came, with his soldiers and his nobles, before Khonsu-the-Plan-Maker. He threw himself upon his belly, saying: "Thou comest to us, thou art welcome with us, by command of the King Usermare-Setepnere Ramses II."

Then this god went to the place where Bentresh was. Then he wrought the protection of the daughter of the chief of Bekhten. She became well immediately.

Then said this spirit which was in her before Khonsu-the-Plan-Maker-in-Thebes: "Thou comest in peace, thou great god, smiting the barbarians. Thy city is in Bekhten, thy servants are its people, I am thy servant. I will go to the place whence I came, to satisfy thy heart concerning that, on account of which thou comest. But let thy Majesty command to celebrate a feast-day with me and with the chief of Bekhten." Then this god nodded to his priest, saying, "Let the chief of Bekhten make a great offering before this spirit." While these things were happening, which Khonsu-the-Plan-Maker-in-Thebes wrought with the spirit, the chief of Bekhten stood with his soldiers, and feared very greatly. Then he made a great offering before Khonsu-the-Plan-Maker-

practises of the later Egyptians, but hardly with the Great Empire which it purports to present.

in-Thebes and the spirit; and the chief of Bekhten celebrated a feast-day with them. Then the spirit departed in peace to the place he desired, by command of Khonsu-the-Plan-Maker-in-Thebes, and the chief of Bekhten rejoiced very greatly, together with every man who was in Bekhten.

Then he took counsel with his heart, saying: "I will cause this god to remain with me in Bekhten; I will not permit that he return to Egypt." Then his god tarried three years and nine months in Bekhten.

Then the chief of Bekhten slept upon his bed, and he saw this god coming to him, to forsake his shrine; he was a hawk of gold, and he flew upward toward Egypt. He (the chief) awoke in a fright.

Then he said to the priest of Khonsu-the-Plan-Maker-in-Thebes: "This god, he is still with us; let him depart to Egypt; let his chariot depart to Egypt." Then the chief of Bekhten caused his god to proceed to Egypt, and gave to him very many gifts of every good thing, very many soldiers and horses.

They arrived in peace at Thebes. Then came the city of Thebes, and . . .¹⁰ the-Plan-Maker-in-Thebes to the house of Khonsu-in-Thebes-Beautiful-Rest. He set the gifts which the chief of Bekhten had given to him, of good things, before Khonsu-in-Thebes-Beautiful-Rest, but he gave not everything thereof into his house. Khonsu-the-Plan-Maker-in-Thebes arrived at his palace in peace the year 33, the second month, the ninth day, of King Usermare-Setepnere; that he might be given life, like Re, forever.

¹⁰ Khonsu has probably been omitted by mistake.

PRINCE SATNI AND THE MAGIC BOOK

At one time there was a king named Usimares, l. h. s.,¹ and this king had a son named Satni-Khamois, and the foster-brother of Satni-Khamois was called Inaros by name. And Satni-Khamois was well instructed in all things. He passed his time wandering about the necropolis of Memphis, to read there the books of the sacred writings and the books of the "Double House of Life,"² and the writings that are carved on the *stelæ* and on the walls of the temples; he knew the virtues of amulets and talismans, he understood how to compose them and to draw up powerful writings, for he was a magician who had no equal in the land of Egypt.³

Now, one day, when he was walking in the open court of the temple of Ptah, reading the inscriptions, behold, a man of noble bearing who was there began to laugh. Satni said to him, "Wherefore dost thou laugh at me?" The noble said, "I do not laugh at thee, but can I refrain from laughing when thou dost decipher the writings here which possess no power? If thou desirest truly to read an efficacious writing, come with me. I will cause thee to go to the place where the book is that Thoth wrote with his own hand, and which will put thee immediately below the gods. The two formulæ

¹ From Sir Gaston Maspero's translation. This is a restitution, and the original text of the first two pages is destroyed. Uasimariya is the prenomen of Ramses II., which the Greeks transcribed *Usimares*, from the pronunciation current at the time of the Ptolemies.

² That is to say, the magic books of the sacerdotal library. We have direct evidence of the activity of the Egyptian scholars and sorcerers in the text published by Daressy, "*Note sur une inscription hiératique d'un mastaba d'Abousir.*"

³ The author of the romance did not invent the character of his hero Khamuasit, Khamois. He found it ready to hand. In one of the Louvre Papyri (No. 3248) there is a series of magic formulæ the invention of which is attributed to this prince. The note giving this attribution states that he found the original manuscript under the head of a mummy in the necropolis of Memphis, probably during one of those deciphering expeditions spoken of in our text.

that are written there, if thou recitest the first of them, thou shalt charm the heaven, the earth, the world of the night, the mountains, the waters; thou shalt understand what all the birds of heaven and the reptiles say, as many as there are. Thou shalt behold the fish, for a divine power will bring them to the surface of the water. If thou readest the second formula, even when thou art in the tomb, thou shalt resume the form thou hadst on earth; thou shalt also behold the sun rising in the heavens, and his cycle of gods, also the moon in the form that she has when she appears." Satni said, "By my life! let it be told me what thou dost wish for, and I will do it for thee; but lead me to the place where the book is." The noble said to Satni, "The book in question is not mine; it is in the midst of the necropolis, in the tomb of Nenoferkephtah, son of the King Merenephtis, l. h. s. Beware, indeed, of taking this book from him, for he will make thee bring it back, a forked stick and a staff in thy hand, a lighted brazier on thy head."

From the hour when the noble spake to Satni he knew no longer in what part of the world he was; he went before the King, and he said before the King all the words that the noble had said to him. The King said to him, "What dost thou desire?" He said to the King, "Permit me to go down into the tomb of Nenoferkephtah, son of the King Merenephtis, l. h. s.; I will take Inaros, my foster-brother, with me, and I shall bring back that book." He went to the necropolis of Memphis with Inaros, his foster-brother. He spent three days and three nights searching among the tombs which are in the necropolis of Memphis, reading the *stelæ* of the "Double House of Life," reciting the inscriptions they bore. On the third day he recognized the place where Nenoferkephtah was laid. When they had recognized the place where Nenoferkephtah was laid, Satni recited a writing over him; a gap opened in the ground, and Satni went down to the place where the book was.⁴

⁴ Some of the Hermetic books were supposed to have been taken in this way from the tomb of the sage who had written them, and as early as the Græco-Roman period this conception had reached the West. The

[What he first saw we do not know. From the fragment discovered by Spiegelberg it appears that the man met in the forecourt of the temple of Ptah was Nenoferkephtah himself, who only kept his wife and son with him in his tomb temporarily, and desired to have them there permanently, and that he reckoned on making use of Satni to transfer their mummies from Coptos, where they had been buried, to the Memphite necropolis. Satni, in too much haste to go down into the tomb, had not fulfilled all the necessary rites, and could not open the door. Nenoferkephtah appeared to him and pointed out to him the expiatory sacrifices demanded by the Manes. Crows and vultures conducted him in safety to the appointed place, and at the spot on which they settled there was a stone that Satni raised immediately and which masked the entrance to the tomb.]

When he entered, behold, it was as light as if the sun shone there, for the light came from the book and lighted all around. And Nenoferkephtah was not alone in the tomb, but his wife Ahuri, and Maihet his son, were with him; for though their bodies reposed at Coptos, their double⁵ was with him by virtue of the book of Thoth. And when Satni entered the tomb, Ahuri stood up and said to him, "Thou, who art thou?" He said, "I am Satni-Khamois, son of the King Usimares, l. h. s.; I am come to have that book of Thoth, that I perceive between thee and Nenoferkephtah. Give it me, for if not I will take it from thee by force." Ahuri said, "I pray thee, be not in haste,

celebrated romance of Antonius Diogenes was put together in this way. According to the testimony of Pliny (xxx. 2), the philosopher Democritus of Abdera acquired his knowledge of magic from Apollobechis of Coptos, and from Dardanus the Phenician, *voluminibus Dardani in sepulchrum ejus petitis*; he owed his chemical knowledge to the works of Ostanos, which he discovered in one of the columns of the temple at Memphis.

⁵ The *ka*, or double, was born with the child, grew up with the man, and still subsisting after death, dwelt in the tomb. It was necessary to feed, clothe, and amuse it; and it was to it that the funerary offerings were presented. As this story shows, it could leave the place where its corpse was, and dwell in the tomb of some other member of the family.

but listen first to all the misfortunes that came to me because of this book of which thou sayest, 'Let it be given to me.' Do not say that, for on account of it we were deprived of the time we had to remain on earth.

"I am named Ahuri, daughter of the King Merenephtis, l. h. s., and he whom thou seest here with me is my brother Nenoferkephtah. We were born of the same father and the same mother, and our parents had no other children than ourselves. When I was of age to marry, I was taken before the King at the time of diversion with the King;⁶ I was much adorned and I was considered beautiful. The King said, 'Behold, Ahuri, our daughter, is already grown, and the time has come to marry her. To whom shall we marry Ahuri, our daughter?' Now I loved Nenoferkephtah, my brother, exceedingly, and I desired no other husband than he.⁷ I told this to my mother; she went to find the King Merenephtis, she said to him, 'Ahuri, our daughter, loves Nenoferkephtah, her elder brother; let us marry them one to the other according to custom.' When the King had heard all the words that my mother had said, he said, 'Thou hast had but two children, and wouldst thou marry them one to the other? Would it not be better to marry Ahuri to the son of a general of infantry, and Nenoferkephtah to the daughter of another general of infantry?' She said, 'Dost thou wrangle with me?'⁸ Even if I have no

⁶ One sees, from the pictures on the Pavilion of Medinet Habu, that the King went every day to the harem to amuse himself there with his wives; it was probably that part of the day that this story speaks of as "the time of diversion with the King."

⁷ The universal custom in Egypt was for the brother to marry one of his sisters. The gods and the kings themselves set the example, and the custom of these marriages, which to us appear incestuous, was so firmly seated, that the Ptolemies eventually complied with it. The celebrated Cleopatra had her two brothers in succession as husbands.

⁸ The part of the text that is preserved commences here. In the restitution that precedes it I have attempted, as far as possible, to use expressions and ideas borrowed from the remaining pages. It must therefore be understood that the preceding pages do not by any means represent the contents of the two lost leaves of demotic. Without developing the events in detail I have confined myself to reconstructing a general beginning that will enable readers to understand the story.

children after those two children, is it not the law to marry them one to the other?—I shall marry Nenofkerphtah to the daughter of a commander of troops, and Ahuri to the son of another commander of troops, and may this turn to good for our family.’ As this was the time to make festival before Pharaoh, behold, one came to fetch me, one led me to the festival; I was very troubled, and I had no longer the manner of the previous day. Now Pharaoh said to me, ‘Is it not thou who didst send me those foolish words, “Marry me to Nenofkerphtah, my eldest brother”?’ I said to him, ‘Well! let me be married to the son of a general of infantry, and let Nenofkerphtah be married to the daughter of another general of infantry, and may this turn to good for our family.’—I laughed, Pharaoh laughed. Pharaoh said to the major-domo of the royal house, ‘Let Ahuri be taken to the house of Nenofkerphtah this very night; let all manner of fine presents be taken with her.’ They took me as spouse to the house of Nenofkerphtah, and Pharaoh commanded that a great dowry of gold and silver should be taken to me, and all the servants of the royal house presented them to me. Nenofkerphtah spent a happy day with me; he received all the servants of the royal house, and he slept with me that very night, and he found me a virgin, and he knew me again and again, for each of us loved the other. And when the time of my monthly purifications was come, lo, I had no purifications to make. One went to announce it to Pharaoh, and his heart rejoiced greatly thereat, and he had all manner of precious things of the property of the royal house taken, and he had very beautiful gifts of gold, of silver, of fine linen, brought to me. And when the time came that I should be delivered, I brought forth this little child who is before thee. The name of Maihet was given him, and it was inscribed on the register of the ‘Double House of Life.’⁹

⁹ The “Double House of Life” was, as E. de Rougé has shown, the college of hierogrammarians versed in the knowledge of the sacred books; each of the great Egyptian temples had its “double house of life.” This passage of the story might lead one to think that the scribes belonging

"And many days after that, Nenoferkephtah, my brother, seemed only to be on earth to walk about in the necropolis of Memphis, reading the writings that are in the tombs of the Pharaohs, and the *stelæ* of the scribes of the 'Double House of Life,'¹⁰ as well as the writings that are inscribed on them, for he was greatly interested in writings. After that there was a procession in honor of the god Ptah, and Nenoferkephtah entered the temple to pray. Now while he walked behind the procession, deciphering the writings that are on the chapels of the gods, an old man saw him and laughed. Nenoferkephtah said to him, 'Wherefore dost thou laugh at me?' The priest said, 'I am not laughing at thee; but can I refrain from laughing when thou readest here writings that have no power? If thou verily desirest to read a writing, come to me. I will cause thee to go to a place where the book is that Thoth wrote with his hand himself, when he came here below with the gods. The two formulæ that are written there, if thou recitest the first thou shalt charm the heavens, the earth, the world of the night, the mountains, the waters; thou shalt understand that which the birds of the heaven and the reptiles

to it held some sort of civil position, but this was not the case. The scribes of the "Double House of Life," like all the learned men of Egypt, were astrologers, diviners, and magicians. The children of kings, princes, and nobles were brought to them; they drew the horoscope, they predicted the future of the new-born babe, they indicated the best names, the special amulets, the precautions to be taken according to circumstances, to circumvent as far as possible the indications of ill-fortune. All the information given by them was inscribed on registers which probably served to draw up calendars of propitious and unpropitious days.

¹⁰ It is not easy to understand at once what "the *stelæ* of the scribes of the Double House of Life" can have been to which Satni and Nenoferkephtah attached so great importance. I think we must take them to be the talisman-*stelæ* of which the Pseudo-Callisthenes, the Hermetic writers and, after them, the Arab authors of Egypt, told so many marvels. The only ones that have come down to us, such as the "*Metternich Stela*," contain charms against the bite of venomous creatures, serpents, spiders, centipedes, and against savage animals. It would be supposed that such a student of magic as Nenoferkephtah would pore over monuments of this kind in hopes of discovering some ancient powerful formula forgotten by his contemporaries.

say, as many as they are; thou shalt see the fish of the deep, for a divine power will rest on the water above them. If thou readest the second formula, even after thou art in the tomb, thou shalt resume the form that thou hadst on earth; also thou shalt see the sun rising in the heavens, with his cycle of gods, and the moon in the form she has when she appears.' ¹¹ Nenoferkephtah said to the priest, 'By the life of the King, let me be told what good thing thou dost wish for, and I will cause it to be given to thee if thou wilt lead me to the place where the book is.' The priest said to Nenoferkephtah, 'If thou desirest that I should send thee to the place where the book is thou shalt give me a hundred pieces of silver ¹² for my burial, and thou shalt cause the two coffins ¹³ of a wealthy priest to be made for me.' Nenoferkephtah called a page and commanded him that the hundred pieces of silver should be given to the priest, also he caused the two coffins to be made that he desired; in short, he did all that the priest had said. The priest said to Nenoferkephtah, 'The book in question is in the midst of the sea of Coptos ¹⁴ in an iron coffer. The iron coffer is

¹¹ The powers accorded to its possessor by the second part of the book of Thoth are the same as those assured by knowledge of the prayers in the "Funerary Ritual"; chapter xviii gives the power of passing unharmed through fire; chapter xxiii possesses the charms necessary for the personal security of the man who knows them by heart; and so forth. The book of Thoth secured for the dead the power of animating his mummified body and using it as he pleased; and for the living the sight not of the solar orb, but of the god himself concealed in the orb, and the gods who accompanied him.

¹² The text mentions one hundred *tabonu*. The *tabonu* weighed on an average 89 to 91 grammes. One hundred *tabonu* would therefore represent between 8 kil. 900 gr. and 9 kil. 100 gr. of silver, which "in weight" would exceed 360 dollars.

¹³ The Egyptian word is illegible. There is nothing surprising in the priest's request, for those who know something of the customs of the country. It is merely the expression of a good wish for a good burial — *gaïse nofre* — which is found on funerary *stelæ* of all periods. As in China, it is quite possible that the gift of a coffin would be highly esteemed. The "two coffins" of the priest were necessary for a wealthy interment. In addition to the cartonnage every mummy of distinction had two wooden coffins, one inside the other, as can be seen in our museums.

¹⁴ The word employed here is *iauma*, "the sea." It means the Nile.

in a bronze coffer; the bronze coffer is in a coffer of cinnamon wood; the coffer of cinnamon wood is in a coffer of ivory and ebony; the coffer of ivory and ebony is in a coffer of silver; the coffer of silver is in a coffer of gold, and the book is in that. And there is a schene¹⁵ of reptiles round the coffer in which is the book, and there is an immortal serpent¹⁶ rolled round the coffer in question.'

"From the hour that the priest spoke to Nenoferkephtah he knew not in what part of the world he was. He came out of the temple; he spake with me of all that had happened to him; he said to me, 'I go to Coptos, I will bring back that book, and after that I will not again leave the country of the north.' But I rose up against the priest, saying, 'Beware of Amon for thyself, because of that which thou hast said to Nenoferkephtah; for thou hast brought me disputing, thou hast brought me war; and the country of the Thebaid, I find it hostile to my happiness.'¹⁷ I raised my hand to Nenoferkephtah that he should not go to Coptos, but he did not listen to me; he went before Pharaoh, and he spake before Pharaoh all the words that the priest had said to him. Pharaoh said to him, 'What is the desire of thy heart?' He said to him, 'Let the royal cange be given to me fully equipped. I shall take Ahuri, my sister, and Maihet, her little child, to the south with me; I shall bring back the book, and I shall not leave this place again.' The cange, fully equipped, was given to him; we embarked on it, we made the voyage, we arrived at Coptos. When

Where it crosses the nome the Nile bore a special name. The "river of Coptos" is that part of the Nile that traverses the nome of Coptos.

¹⁵ The schene at the Ptolemaic period measured about 12,000 royal cubits of 52 centimeters each.

¹⁶ The immortal serpent is perhaps the great serpent that is still supposed to live in the Nile, and of which the fellahin tell strange stories.

¹⁷ The district of the Thebaid and the city of Thebes are represented under the form of a goddess. It is therefore possible that the "hostility of the country of the Thebaid" was not the hostility of the inhabitants, who received the visitors cordially when they landed at Coptos, but the hostility of the goddess in whom the country of the Thebaid was incarnate, and who would be unwilling to see the book removed that had been placed under her charge by Thoth.

this was told to the priests of Isis of Coptos, and to the superior of the priests of Isis, behold they came down to us; they came without delay before Nenoferkephtah, and their wives came down before me. We disembarked, and we went to the temple of Isis, and of Harpocrates. Nenoferkephtah caused a bull to be brought, a goose, and wine; he presented an offering and a libation before Isis of Coptos, and Harpocrates. We were then conducted to a house which was very beautiful and full of all manner of good things. Nenoferkephtah spent five days diverting himself with the priests of Isis of Coptos, while the wives of the priests of Isis of Coptos diverted themselves with me. When the morning of the following day came Nenoferkephtah caused a large quantity of pure wax to be brought before him; he made of it a bark filled with its rowers and sailors, he recited a spell over them, he brought them to life, he gave them breath, he threw them into the water, he filled the royal cange with sand, he said farewell to me, he embarked, and I placed myself on the sea of Coptos, saying, 'I know what will happen to him.'

"He said, 'Rowers, row for me, to the place where the book is,' and they rowed for him, by night as by day. When he had arrived there in three days, he threw sand in front of him, and a chasm opened in the river. When he had found a schene of serpents, of scorpions, and of all manner of reptiles round the coffer where the book was, and when he had beheld an eternal serpent round the coffer itself, he recited a spell over the schene of serpents, scorpions, and reptiles who were round the coffer, and it rendered them motionless.¹⁸ He came to the place where the eternal serpent was; he attacked him, he slew him. The serpent came to life, and took his form again. He attacked the serpent a

¹⁸ Literally, "They did not carry themselves off." It is the same expression used in the "Story of the Doomed Prince," to mark the magic proceeding employed by the princes to reach the window of the daughter of the chief of Naharinna. One of the Leyden papyri and a papyrus in the Louvre, "The Harris Magic Papyrus," contain spells against scorpions and reptiles, of the kind placed by the author in the mouth of Nenoferkephtah.

second time; he slew him. The serpent came to life again. He attacked the serpent a third time; he cut him in two pieces, he put sand between piece and piece; the serpent died, and he did not again take his previous form.¹⁹ Nenoferkephtah went to the place where the coffer was, and he recognized that it was an iron coffer. He opened it and he found a bronze coffer. He opened it and found a cinnamon-wood coffer. He opened it and found an ivory and ebony coffer. He opened it and found a silver coffer. He opened it and found a gold coffer. He opened it and found that the book was inside. He drew the book in question out of the gold coffer, and recited a formula of that which was written in it; he enchanted the heaven, the earth, the world of the night, the mountains, the waters; he understood all that was spoken by the birds of the heaven, the fish of the waters, the beasts of the mountain. He recited the other formula of the writing, and he beheld the sun as it mounted the sky with his cycle of gods, the moon rising, the stars in their form; he beheld the fishes of the deep, for a divine force rested on the water above them. He recited a spell over the water, and it made it return to its former shape, he reembarked; he said to the rowers, 'Row for me to the place where Ahuri is.' They rowed for him, by night as by day. When he arrived at the place where I was, in three days, he found me sitting near the sea of Coptos. I was not drinking nor eating; I was doing nothing in the world; I was like a person arrived at the 'Good dwelling.'²⁰ I said to Nenoferkephtah, 'By the life of the King! Grant that I see this book for which you have taken all this trouble.' He put the book in my hand, I read one formula of the writing which was there; I enchanted the heaven, the earth, the world of the night, the mountains, the waters; I understood all that was spoken by the birds of the heaven, the fish of the deep,

¹⁹ This struggle with serpents, guardians of a book or of a place, is based on a religious idea. At Denderah, for instance, the guardians of the doorways and crypts are always figured under the form of vipers, as are also the guardians of the twelve regions of the lower world.

²⁰ This is one of the euphemisms employed in Egypt to designate the workshop of the embalmers, and also the tomb.

and the quadrupeds. I recited the other formula of the writing. I beheld the sun which appeared in the heaven with his cycle of gods, I beheld the moon rising, and all the stars of heaven in their form; I beheld the fish of the water, for there was a divine force which rested on the water above them. As I could not write, I said so to Nenoferkephtah, my brother, who was an accomplished scribe and a very learned man; he caused a piece of virgin papyrus to be brought, he wrote therein all the words that were in the book, he soaked it in beer, he dissolved the whole in water. When he saw that it had all dissolved, he drank, and he knew all that was in the writing.²¹

“ We returned to Coptos the same day, and we made merry before Isis of Coptos and Harpocrates. We embarked, we set off. We reached the north of Coptos, the distance of a schene. Now behold, Thoth had learned all that had happened to Nenoferkephtah with regard to this book, and Thoth did not delay to plead before Re, saying, ‘ Know that my right and my law are with Nenoferkephtah, son of the King Merenephtah, l. h. s. He has penetrated into my abode, he has pillaged it, he has taken my coffer with my book of incantations, he has slain my guardian who watched over the coffer.’ One²² said to him, ‘ He is thine, he and all his, all of them.’ One sent down a divine force from heaven saying, ‘ Nenoferkephtah shall not arrive safe and sound at Memphis, he and whoever is with him.’ At this same hour Maihet, the young child, came out from under the awning of the cange of Pharaoh. He fell in the river, and while he praised Re, all who were on board uttered a cry. Nenoferkephtah came out from below the cabin; he recited a spell

²¹ This proceeding of Nenoferkephtah has been employed at all periods in the East. In ancient Babylon, as now at Bagdad and Cairo, bowls of unglazed pottery were made on which magic formulæ against various maladies were written in ink. Into them water was poured, which partially removed the ink, and which was swallowed by the patient. However much the ink remained at the bottom of the bowl, the cure was certain.

²² Here “ One ” is Re, king of the gods, and at the beginning of time the Pharaoh of Egypt.

over the child, and brought him up again, for there was a divine force which rested on the water above him. He recited a spell over him, he made him tell all that had happened to him, and the accusation that Thoth had brought before Re. We returned to Coptos with him, we had him carried to the 'Good Dwelling,' we waited to see that care was taken of him, we had him embalmed as beseemed a great one, we laid him in his coffin in the cemetery of Coptos. Nenoferkephtah, my brother, said, 'Let us go; do not let us delay to return until the King has heard what has happened to us, and his heart is troubled on this account.' We embarked, we parted; we were not long in arriving at the north of Coptos, the distance of a schene. At the place where the little child Maihet had tumbled into the river, I came out from below the awning of the cange of Pharaoh, I fell into the river, and while I praised Re all who were on board uttered a cry. It was told to Nenoferkephtah, and he came out from below the awning of the cange of Pharaoh. He recited a spell over me, and he brought me up again, for there was a divine force which rested on the water above me. He took me out of the river, he read a spell over me, he made me tell all that had happened to me, and the accusation that Thoth had brought before Re. He returned to Coptos with me, he had me carried to the 'Good Dwelling,' he waited to see that care was taken of me, he had me embalmed as beseemed a very great personage, he had me laid in the tomb where Maihet, the little child, was already laid. He embarked, he set out; he was not long in arriving at the north of Coptos, the distance of a schene, at the place where we had fallen into the river. He communed with his heart, saying, 'Would it not be better to go to Coptos, and take up my abode with them? If, on the contrary, I return at once to Memphis, and Pharaoh questions me on the subject of his children, what could I say to him? Could I say thus to him: 'I took thy children with me to the nome of Thebes; I have killed them, and I live. I returned to Memphis still living'? He caused a piece of royal fine linen that belonged to him to be brought, he made of it a magic band, he tied the book

with it, he put it on his breast, and fixed it there firmly.²³ Nenoferkephtah came out from below the awning of the cange of Pharaoh, he fell into the water, and while he praised Re all who were on board uttered a cry, saying, 'Oh, what great mourning, what lamentable mourning! Is he not gone, the excellent scribe, the learned man who had no equal!'

"The cange of Pharaoh went on its way, before any one in the world knew in what place Nenoferkephtah was. When it arrived at Memphis one informed Pharaoh, and Pharaoh came down in front of the cange. He was wearing a mourning-cloak, and all the garrison of Memphis wore mourning-cloaks, as well as the priests of Ptah, the high priest of Ptah, and all the people who surround Pharaoh.²⁴ And lo! they beheld Nenoferkephtah, who was fixed on to the rudder-oars of the cange of Pharaoh by his knowledge as an excellent scribe.²⁵ They raised him, they saw the book on his breast, and Pharaoh said, 'Let the book that is on his breast be taken away.' The courtiers of Pharaoh, as well as the priests of Ptah and the high priests of Ptah, said before the King, 'Oh, our great lord — may he have the duration of Re! — he is an excellent scribe and a very learned man, this Nenoferkephtah!'²⁶ Pharaoh had him placed in the 'Good

²³ One of the magic books of the Leyden Museum professes to be a copy from the original "discovered at the neck of King Usimares, in the tomb." Another copy of the same work, which belongs to the Cairo Museum, was found in the coffin of Tatumaut, priestess of Amon, placed at the base of the neck.

²⁴ *Qanbuatiu*, "the people of the corner," those who stand at the four sides of the king and of the hall in which he gave audience.

²⁵ Nenoferkephtah having disappeared beneath the river, "no one knew in what place he was"; at Memphis he is found attached to the rudder-oars of the royal bark, and the text is careful to add that it was "in his quality of excellent scribe." This prodigy was due to the precaution he had taken in fixing the book of Thoth to his breast; its magic virtue had raised the corpse and attached it to the oars without human intervention.

²⁶ The exclamation of the priests of Ptah, which at first nothing appears to justify, is an indirect reply to the order of the King. The King commands them to take the book of Thoth, which had already caused the death of three persons. The priests did not dare to disobey him openly, but by remarking that Nenoferkephtah was a great magician, they intimated to him that all the science in the world could not protect men

Dwelling' for the space of sixteen days, clothed with stuffs for the space of thirty-five days, laid out for the space of seventy days, and then he was laid in his tomb among the 'Dwellings of Repose.'

"I have told thee all the sorrows that came to us on account of this book, of which thou sayest, 'Let it be given me.' Thou hast no right to it; for, on account of it, the time we had to remain on the earth was taken from us."

Satni said, "Thuri, give me that book that I see between thee and Nenoferkephtah; if not, I will take it from thee by force." Nenoferkephtah raised himself on the bed and said, "Art thou not Satni, to whom that woman has told all those misfortunes that thou hast not yet experienced? Art thou capable of obtaining this book by the power of an excellent scribe,²⁷ or by thy skill in playing against me? Let us two play for it."²⁸ Satni said, "Agreed." Then they brought the board before them,²⁹ with its "dogs," and they two played. Nenoferkephtah won a game from Satni;³⁰ he re-against the vengeance of God. By what misfortunes would not the assistant be menaced who took the book without the knowledge of sorcery possessed by Nenoferkephtah! The event proves that this somewhat subtle interpretation of the text is correct. The King comprehended the fears of his courtiers, and revoked the imprudent order given by him; for the book of Thoth was still on the mummy of Nenoferkephtah when Satni came to take it.

²⁷ In other words, by a trial of magic skill between magicians of equal power.

²⁸ The game of draughts was the favorite amusement of the dead; there were often deposited in the tomb with them a draughtsboard, draughtsmen, and some small knuckle-bones to regulate the movement of the pieces. A certain vignette of the "Funerary Ritual" shows the owner playing thus in the other world, in a small pavilion or under the vault of a hypogeum. The modern Egyptians have at least two games, the *munkalah* and the *tab*, which should present analogies with Satni's games against Nenoferkephtah.

²⁹ The playing pieces were called "dogs"; in the museums there are some examples with the head of a dog or jackal. It is the same name given them by the Greeks, and also the same by which those of the game of *tab* are known at the present time in Egypt. I use the word "board" to render the Egyptian term, for want of a more appropriate expression; it is the small board, divided into compartments, on which the dogs are moved. There are two in the Louvre, one of which bears the cartouche of Queen Hatshopsuitu, Eighteenth Dynasty.

³⁰ Nenoferkephtah has won a game; this advantage allows him to

cited his magic over him, he placed over him the playing-board which was before him, and he caused him to sink into the ground up to the legs. He did the same with the second game; he won from Satni, and he caused him to sink into the ground up to the waist. He did the same with the third game, and he caused Satni to sink into the ground up to the ears. After that, Satni attacked Nenoferkephtah with his hand; Satni called Inaros, his foster-brother, saying, "Do not delay to go up on to the earth; tell all that has happened to me before Pharaoh; bring me the talismans of my father Ptah,³¹ as well as my books of magic." He went up without delay on to the ground; he recounted before Pharaoh all that had happened to Satni, and Pharaoh said, "Take him the talismans of his father as well as his books of incantations." Inaros went down without delay into the tomb; he placed the talismans on the body of Satni, and he at once rose to the earth. Satni stretched out his hand toward the book and seized it; and when Satni came up out of the tomb, the light went before him and darkness came behind him.³² Ahuri wept after him, saying, "Glory to thee, O darkness! Glory to thee, O light! All of it is departed, all that was in our tomb."³³ Nenoferkephtah said to Ahuri, "Do not afflict thyself. I shall make him bring back this book in due time, a forked stick in his hand, a lighted brazier

recite his book of magic, which results in depriving Satni of part of his magic power. Nenoferkephtah puts the board in front of him over his adversary, which action has the same virtue as that of the magic hammer, and causes his feet to sink into the ground.

³¹ The title of "father" is that which the King, descendant and actually "son" of the Sun, confers on all the gods; here the special reason for it was the fact that Khamois was high priest of the Memphite Ptah. The talismans of Ptah are not otherwise known to us; it is interesting to ascertain from this passage that their virtue was considered superior to the talismans of Thoth that Nenoferkephtah possessed.

³² The book of Thoth; Satni, when carrying it off, takes away the light and leaves darkness.

³³ Thus, in the "Book of Hades," every time that the sun, having traversed one of the hours of the night, departs to enter the following hour, the Manes and the gods that he leaves plunged into darkness for twenty-three hours, till he returns, utter exclamations in his honor, and lament their return to darkness.

on his head.”³⁴ Satni went up out of the tomb, and he closed it behind him as it was before. Satni went before Pharaoh, and he recounted to Pharaoh all that had happened to him on account of the book. Pharaoh said to Satni, “Replace this book in the tomb of Nenoferkephtah, like a wise man; if not, he will force thee to take it back, a forked stick in thy hand, a lighted brazier on thy head.” But Satni did not listen to him; he had no other occupation in the world than to spread out the roll and to read it, it mattered not to whom.³⁵

After that it happened one day, when Satni was walking on the forecourt of the temple of Ptah, he saw a woman, very beautiful, for there was no woman who equaled her in beauty; ³⁶ she had much gold upon her, and there were young girls who walked behind her, and with her were servants to the number of fifty-two.³⁷ From the hour that Satni beheld her he no longer knew the part of the world in which he was. Satni called his page, saying, “Do not delay to go to the

³⁴ In all magic rites the fire or the sword, or, in default of the sword, a metal weapon pointed or forked, is necessary for the invocation and expulsion of spirits. On the lead rolls found in African cemeteries, Typhon and the evil Egyptian genii summoned by the sorcerer are at times figured lance in hand and with a flame on the head. Krall has thought that this represents a courier in this story.

³⁵ This kind of overpowering obsession produced by a magic writing is forcibly described in other texts. It was thus that Prince Didufhoru, having discovered chapter xlv of the “Book of the Dead,” “saw no more, heard no more, so much did he recite this pure and holy chapter; he did not approach women, he ate neither flesh nor fish.” Abstinence and chastity were in fact indispensable conditions for the exercise of those superhuman powers that books of magic conferred on their possessors, as will be seen in the course of this romance. It is by the incontinence of Satni that Nenoferkephtah hopes to recover his talisman.

³⁶ The part played by Ttubui in this episode is in conformity with the universal ideas of demonology, and shows us the nature of the personage. She is no other than Ahuri returned to earth to seduce Satni and render him incapable of making use of his magic powers; when she has accomplished this, Nenoferkephtah will come in his turn and force him to return the book of Thoth.

³⁷ Thus, as Wiedemann has very ingeniously observed, the fifty-two pages who accompany Ttubui are the fifty-two playing pieces of the magic chess-board, animated and incarnated to serve as escort to the princess Ahuri in her excursion into the world of the living.

place where that woman is and learn who she is." The young page made no delay in going to the place where the woman was. He addressed the maid-servant who walked behind her, and he questioned her, saying, "What person is that?" She said to him, "She is Tbubui, daughter of the prophet of Bastit, lady of Ankhutaui, who now goes to make her prayer before Ptah, the great god." When the young man had returned to Satni he recounted all the words that she had said to him without exception. Satni said to the young man, "Go and say thus to the maid-servant, 'Satni-Khamois, son of the Pharaoh Usimares, it is who sends me, saying, 'I will give thee ten pieces of gold that thou mayest pass an hour with me.'"³⁸ If there is necessity to have recourse to violence, he will do it, and he will take thee to a hidden place, where no one in the world will find thee.' " When the young man had returned to the place where Tbubui was, he addressed the maid-servant, and spake with her, but she exclaimed against his words, as though it were an insult to speak them. Tbubui said to the young man, "Cease to speak to that wretched girl; come and speak to me." The young man approached the place where Tbubui was; he said to her, "I will give thee ten pieces of gold if thou wilt pass an hour with Satni-Khamois, the son of Pharaoh-Usimares. If there is necessity to have recourse to violence, he will do so, and will take thee to a hidden place where no one in the world will find thee." Tbubui said, "Go, say to Satni, 'I am a hierodule, I am no mean person; if thou dost desire to have thy pleasure of me thou shalt come to Bubastis into my house. All will be ready there, and thou shalt have thy pleasure of me, and no one in the world shall know it, and I shall not have acted like a woman of the streets.' " When the page had returned to Satni, he repeated to him all the words that she had said without exception, and he said, "Lo, I am satisfied." But all who were with Satni began to curse.

Satni caused a boat to be fetched, he embarked, and delayed not to arrive at Bubastis. He went to the west of

³⁸ Ten *tabonu* in gold made between 890 and 910 grammes of gold, or about 600 dollars "in weight," but far more in actual value.

the town, until he came to a house that was very high ; it had a wall all around it, it had a garden on the north side, there was a flight of steps in front of it. Satni inquired, saying, " Whose is this house ? " They said to him, " It is the house of Tbubui." Satni entered the grounds, and he marveled at the pavilion situated in the garden ³⁹ while they told Tbubui ; she came down, she took the hand of Satni, and she said to him, " By my life ! the journey to the house of the priest of Bastit, lady of Ankhutaui, at which thou art arrived, is very pleasant to me. Come up with me." Satni went up by the stairway of the house with Tbubui. He found the upper story of the house sanded and powdered with sand and powder of real lapis lazuli and real turquoise. There were several beds there, spread with stuffs of royal linen, and also many cups of gold on a stand. They filled a golden cup with wine, and placed it in the hand of Satni, and Tbubui said to him, " Will it please thee to rest thyself ? " He said to her, " That is not what I wish to do." They put scented wood on the fire, they brought perfumes of the kind that are supplied to Pharaoh, and Satni made a happy day with Tbubui, for he had never before seen her equal. Then Satni said to Tbubui, " Let us accomplish that for which we have come here." She said to him, " Thou shalt arrive at thy house, that where thou art. But for me, I am a hierodule, I am no mean person. If thou desirest to have thy pleasure of me thou shalt make me a contract of sustenance, and a contract of money on all the things and on all the goods that are thine." ⁴⁰ He said to her, " Let the scribe of the school be brought." He was brought immediately, and Satni caused to be made in favor of Tbubui a contract for maintenance,

³⁹ This description corresponds very exactly with various plans of Egyptian houses that are figured in the pictures in the Theban tombs. To take one that I have figured in " Egyptian Archaeology " one sees the high wall, the doorway, the flight of steps, the great garden, and the house of two stories in the garden.

⁴⁰ Tbubui here conforms to the jurisprudence of the Ptolemaic period, according to which the existence of two transactions, one of " sustenance " and the other of " money," is necessary to assure a legal basis for the union of a man and a woman.

and he made her in writing a dowry of all his things, all the goods that were his. An hour passed; one came to say this to Satni, "Thy children are below." He said, "Let them be brought up." Tsubui arose, she put on a robe of fine linen,⁴¹ and Satni beheld all her limbs through it, and his desire increased yet more than before. Satni said to Tsubui, "Let us accomplish now that for which I came." She said to him, "Thou shalt arrive at thy house, that where thou art. But for me, I am a hierodule, I am no mean person. If thou desirest to have thy pleasure of me thou wilt cause thy children to subscribe to my writing, that they may not seek a quarrel with my children on the subject of thy possessions." Satni had his children fetched and made them subscribe to the writing. Satni said to Tsubui, "Let me now accomplish that for which I came." She said to him, "Thou shalt arrive at thy house, that where thou art. But for me, I am a hierodule, I am no mean person. If thou dost desire to have thy pleasure of me thou shalt cause thy children to be slain, so that they may not seek a quarrel with my children on account of thy possessions." Satni said, "Let the crime be committed on them of which the desire has entered thy heart." She caused the children of Satni to be slain before him, she had them thrown out below the window, to the dogs and cats,⁴² and they ate their flesh, and he heard them while

⁴¹ This is the great robe of transparent linen, sometimes supple and falling in soft folds, sometimes stiff and starched, which the women are wearing in pictures of the interior of the second Theban period. The whole body was visible through this transparent veiling, and the Egyptian artists have not failed to indicate the details that show the extent to which the garment left the body visible. Several of the mummies found at Deir el Bahari, among others those of Thutmose III. and Ramses II., had bandages of this linen next to their skin, of which specimens can be seen in the Cairo Museum; it has yellowed with time and by the perfumes with which it was soaked at the time of the embalment, but the ancient paintings have not exaggerated when they represented the ladies clothed in it as almost nude. Examining them, one understands what the gauzes of Cos must have been that the classical writers called "woven air."

⁴² In the same way, according to Egyptian tradition, the eunuch Bagoas, having murdered the Persian King, Okhos, threw his body to the cats.

he was drinking with Tbului. Satni said to Tbului, "Let us accomplish that for which we have come here, for all that thou hast said before me has been done for thee." She said to him, "Come into this chamber." Satni entered the chamber, he lay down on a bed of ivory and ebony, in order that his love might be rewarded, and Tbului lay down by the side of Satni. He stretched out his hand to touch her; she opened her mouth widely and uttered a loud cry.⁴³

When Satni came to himself he was in a place of a furnace without any clothing on his back. After an hour Satni perceived a very big man⁴⁴ standing on a platform, with quite a number of attendants beneath his feet, for he had the semblance of a Pharaoh. Satni was about to raise himself, but he could not arise for shame, for he had no clothing on his back. This Pharaoh said, "Satni, what is the state in which you are?" He said, "It is Nenofkerphtah who has had all this done to me." This Pharaoh said, "Go to Memphis; thy children, lo! they wish for thee. Lo! they are standing before Pharaoh." Satni spake before this Pharaoh, "My great lord the King—mayest thou have the duration of Re—how can I arrive at Memphis if I have no raiment in the world on my back?" This Pharaoh called a page, who was standing near him, and commanded him to give a garment to Satni. This Pharaoh said, "Satni, go to

⁴³ Examples of these transformations at the moment of amorous indulgences are not rare in popular literature. Generally they are produced by the intervention of a good genius, a thaumaturgus or a saint, who comes to rescue the hero from the bonds of the succubus. Elsewhere it is the succubus herself who affords herself the malicious pleasure of terrifying her lover by a sudden metamorphosis. This last conception has often been made use of by European writers, and particularly by Cazotte, in his "*Diable Amoureux*." An obscene detail, which occurs several lines further on, and which I have not translated, proves that here, as in all tales of the kind, Tbului was forced to yield herself entirely in order to get her enemy into her power. As soon as she had done so, she opened an enormous mouth and emitted a gale of wind: Satni lost consciousness, and during his fainting fit he was carried far away from the house.

⁴⁴ A figure of more than human size was at that period the mark by which one recognized gods or genii when they manifested themselves to mankind.

Memphis. Thy children, behold they live, behold they are standing before the King."⁴⁵ Satni went to Memphis; he embraced his children with joy, because they were in life. Pharaoh said, "Is it not drunkenness that has caused thee to do all that?" Satni related all that had happened to him with Tbubui and Nenoferkephtah. Pharaoh said, "Satni, I have before come to thine aid, saying, 'They will slay thee, if thou dost not return that book to the place where thou didst take it for thyself, but thou hast not listened to me up to this hour.' Now take back the book to Nenoferkephtah, a forked staff in thy hand and a lighted brazier on thy head." Satni went out before Pharaoh, a fork and a staff in his hand and a lighted brazier on his head, and he descended into the tomb where Nenoferkephtah was. Ahuri said to him, "Satni, it is Ptah the great god who brings thee here safe and sound."⁴⁶ Nenoferkephtah laughed, saying, "This is what I said to thee before." Satni began to talk with Nenoferkephtah, and he perceived that while they talked the sun was altogether in the tomb.⁴⁷ Ahuri and Nenoferkephtah talked much with Satni. Satni said, "Nenoferkephtah, is it not something humiliating that thou askest?" Nenoferkephtah said, "Thou knowest this by knowledge, that Ahuri and Maihet, her child, are at Coptos, and also in this tomb, by the art of a skilful scribe. Let it be commanded to thee to take the trouble to go to Coptos and bring them hither."⁴⁸

⁴⁵ One sees from the King's remarks that he is Nenoferkephtah, and that all the preceding scene of coquetry and murder was merely a magical deed; Satni, rendered impure and a criminal, loses his supernatural power.

⁴⁶ Satni was high priest of Ptah; the protection of the god had saved him from the magicians, and it is this that Ahuri avows, probably not without some vexation.

⁴⁷ In returning the magic book, Satni had brought back light into the tomb, of which he had deprived it when he carried off the talisman.

⁴⁸ The "double" ought to live where the body is buried. Nenoferkephtah had screened the "double" of Ahuri and Maihet from that law by "the art of an able scribe," that is, by magic, and had given them hospitality in his own tomb; but this was a precarious position that might be changed at any moment. Satni, defeated in the struggle for the possession of the book of Thoth, owed some indemnity to the conqueror, who imposed on him the obligation to go to Coptos to find Ahuri

Satni went up out of the tomb; he went before Pharaoh, he related before Pharaoh all that Nenoferkephtah had said to him. Pharaoh said, "Satni, go to Coptos and bring back Ahuri and Maihet her child." He said before Pharaoh, "Let the cange of Pharaoh and its crew be given me." The cange of Pharaoh and its crew were given him; he embarked, he started, he did not delay to arrive at Coptos. One told the priests of Isis, of Coptos, and the high priest of Isis; behold, they came down to him, they came down to the bank. He disembarked, he went to the temple of Isis of Coptos, and Harpocrates. He caused a bull, a goose, and some wine to be brought; he made a burnt-offering and a libation before Isis of Coptos, and Harpocrates. He went to the cemetery of Coptos with the priests of Isis and the high priest of Isis. They spent three days and three nights searching among the tombs that are in the necropolis of Coptos, moving the *stelæ* of the scribes of the Double House of Life, deciphering the inscriptions on them; they did not find the chambers where Ahuri and Maihet her child reposed. Nenoferkephtah knew that they did not find the chambers where Ahuri and Maihet her child reposed. He manifested himself under the form of an old man, a priest very advanced in years, he presented himself before Satni.⁴⁹

Satni saw him; Satni said, "Thou seemest to be a man advanced in years, dost thou not know the house where Ahuri and Maihet her child repose?" The old man said to Satni, "The father of the father of my father said to the father of my father, 'The chambers where Ahuri and Maihet her child repose are below the southern corner of the house of the priest. . . .'"⁵⁰ Satni said to the old man, "Per-

and Maihet and bring them to Memphis. The union of the three mummies would ensure the union of the three "doubles" for all time.

⁴⁹ This is at least the second transformation performed by Nenoferkephtah in that part of the story that has been preserved. The ordinary Manes had the right to assume all the forms they wished, but they could only render themselves visible in very rare cases. Nenoferkephtah owes to his quality of magician the power to do with ease what was forbidden to them, and to appear at one time as a king, at another as an old man.

⁵⁰ The text is too much damaged in this place to allow of the restitution being regarded as certain.

chance the priest . . . hath injured thee, and therefore it is that thou wouldest destroy his house.”⁵¹ The old man said to Satni, “Let a good watch be kept on me while the house of the priest . . . is destroyed, and if it happens that Ahuri and Maihet her child are not found under the southern corner of the house of the priest . . . let me be treated as a criminal.” A good watch was kept over the old man; the chamber where Ahuri and Maihet her child reposed was found below the southern angle of the house of the priest. . . . Satni caused these great personages to be carried to the cange of Pharaoh, and he then had the house of the priest . . . rebuilt as it was before. Nenoferkephtah made known to Satni that it was he who had come to Coptos, to discover for him the chamber where Ahuri and Maihet her child reposed.

Satni embarked on the cange of Pharaoh. He made the voyage, he did not delay to arrive at Memphis, and all the escort who were with him. One told Pharaoh, and Pharaoh came down before the cange of Pharaoh. He caused the great personages to be carried to the tomb where Nenoferkephtah was, and he had the upper chamber all sealed as before.—This complete writing, wherein is related the history of Satni-Khamois and Nenoferkephtah, also of Ahuri his wife and Maihet his son, has been written by the scribe Ziharpto, the year 35, in the month of Tybi.

⁵¹ By destroying the “house,” *i.e.*, the tomb of an individual, his funerary cult was rendered impossible, the “double” was starved and ran the risk of perishing, thus arousing the wrath of the “double,” which showed itself in apparitions, attacks, possessions by spirits and maladies from which the living suffered. The law was very severe on those who, by demolishing a tomb, risked the letting loose of various ills. Nevertheless, it happened at times that people who cherished hatred against some deceased persons would run the risk. Satni feared that his informant might profit by his researches to satisfy his hatred and render him an involuntary accomplice in his crime.

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